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From muddy fields to the World Cup

BIRTH OF THE JET FIGHTER

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How the crusader queen dodged kidnapping and assassination to forge the Plantagenet dynasty

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Strange stories from the history of public punishment

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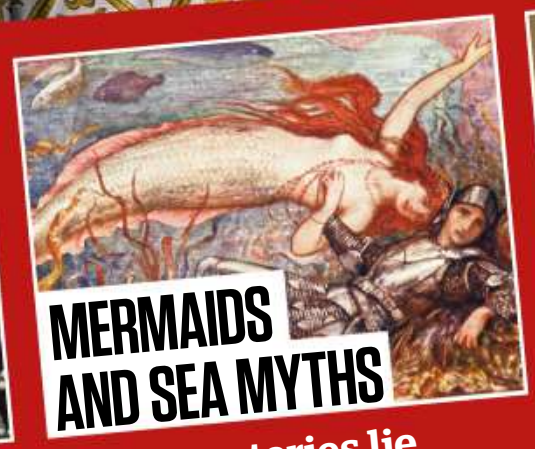

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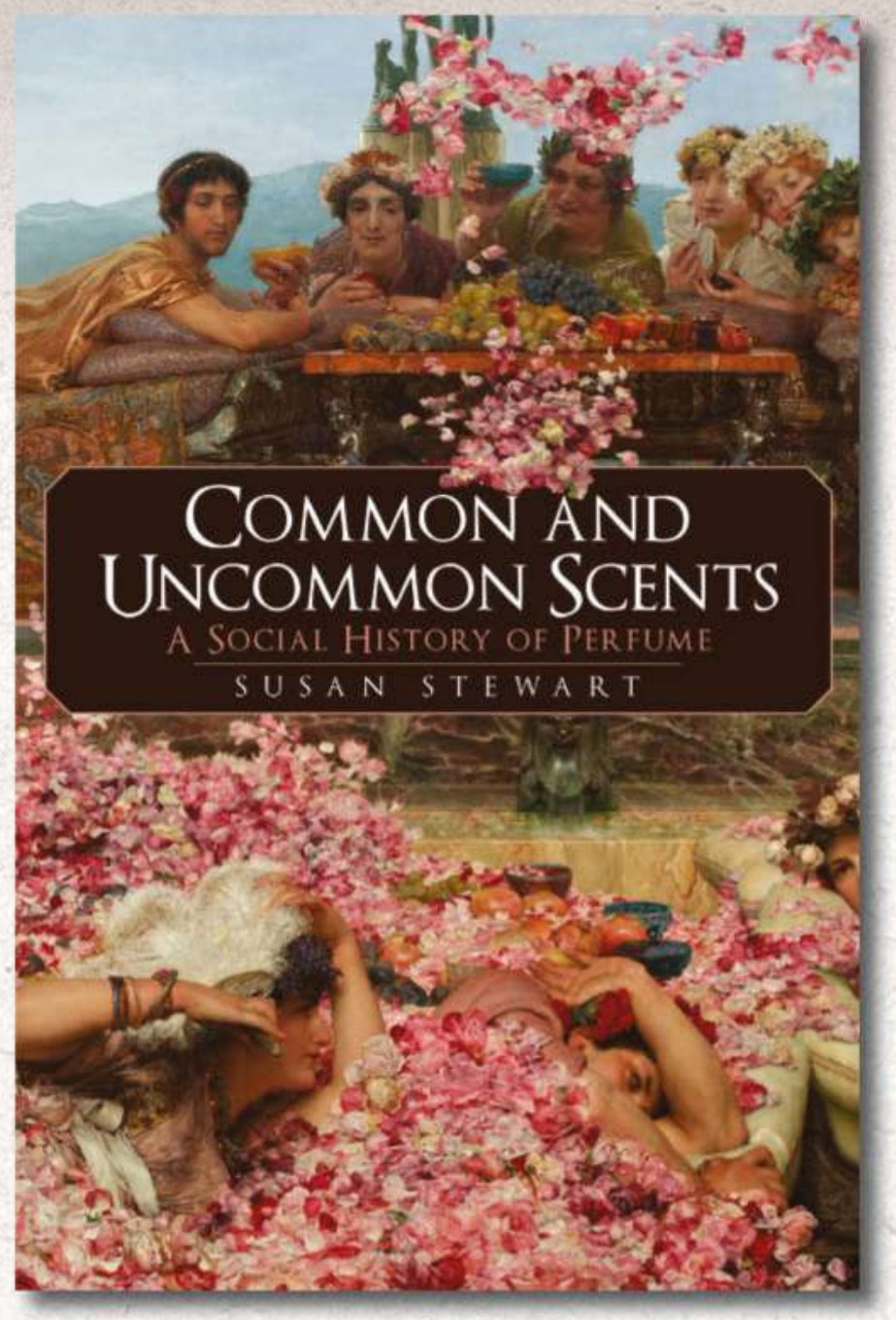

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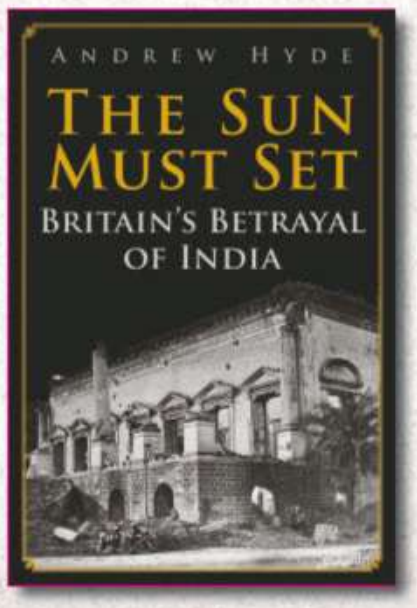

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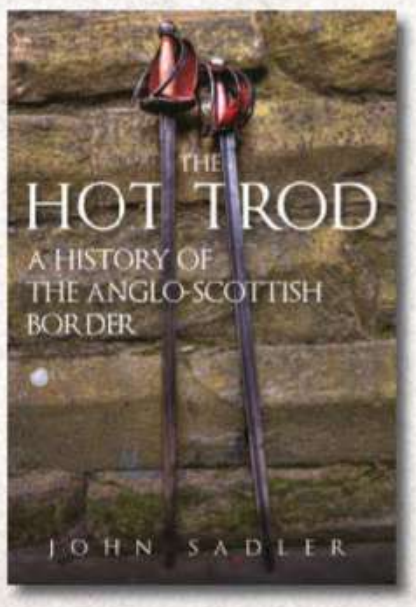

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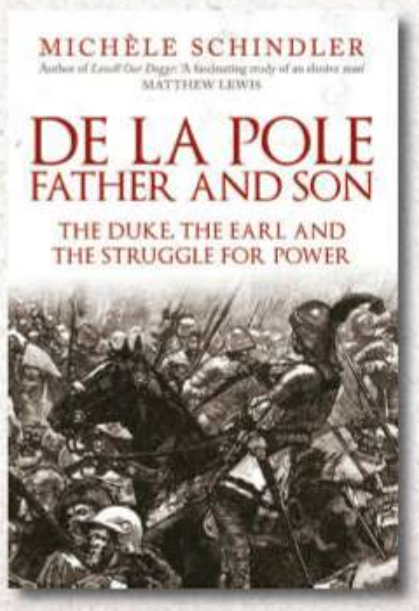

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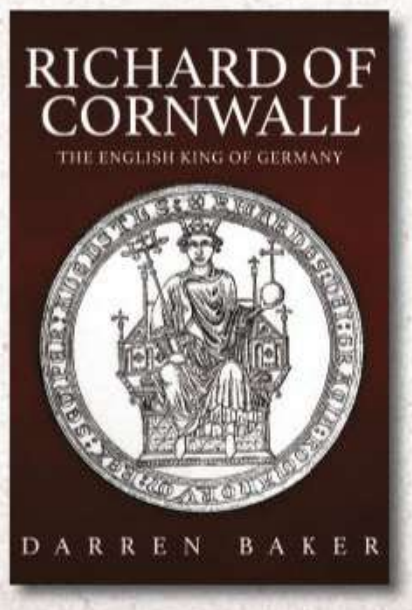

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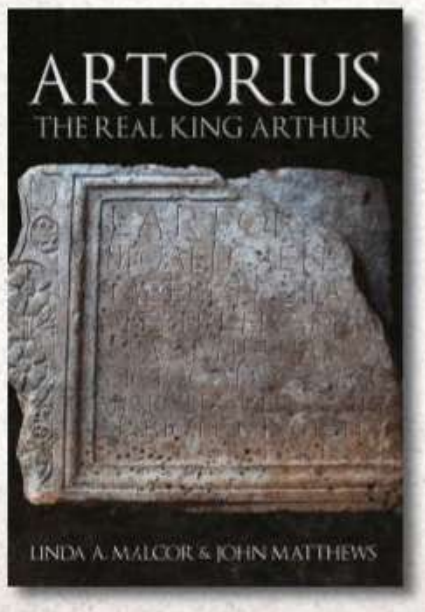

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Eleanor and Henry II depicted in a retelling of the Arthurian legend from the early 13th century

Welcome

I feel as if I've been learning about the Plantagenet Dynasty by proxy over the course of recent issues of *All About History*. From King John to Empress Matilda, we've been coming back to this family line a little more frequently of late, trying to unpick the machinations and intrigues of this complex lineage. Right at the heart of things is one of the great power couples of the era, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II. This issue we focus in on Eleanor, who was the bigger player of the pair when she married the then duke, a few years her junior, in 1152. Having covered her years as the 'crusader queen' in an earlier issue, we wanted to look more at this second phase of her life and the massive legacy she established.

Also this issue we explore the history of football, which I am willing to admit is a personal passion of mine. With this year's World Cup and the 150th anniversary of the first international match (between England and Scotland, as it happens), it seemed like a good time to explore this subject. I hope even non-football fans will get something from our investigations into this history, including some of the geopolitical ramifications the World Cup can have. Add in some mermaids, jet fighters, capital punishment and royal fashion and you have a packed issue. Thanks for reading.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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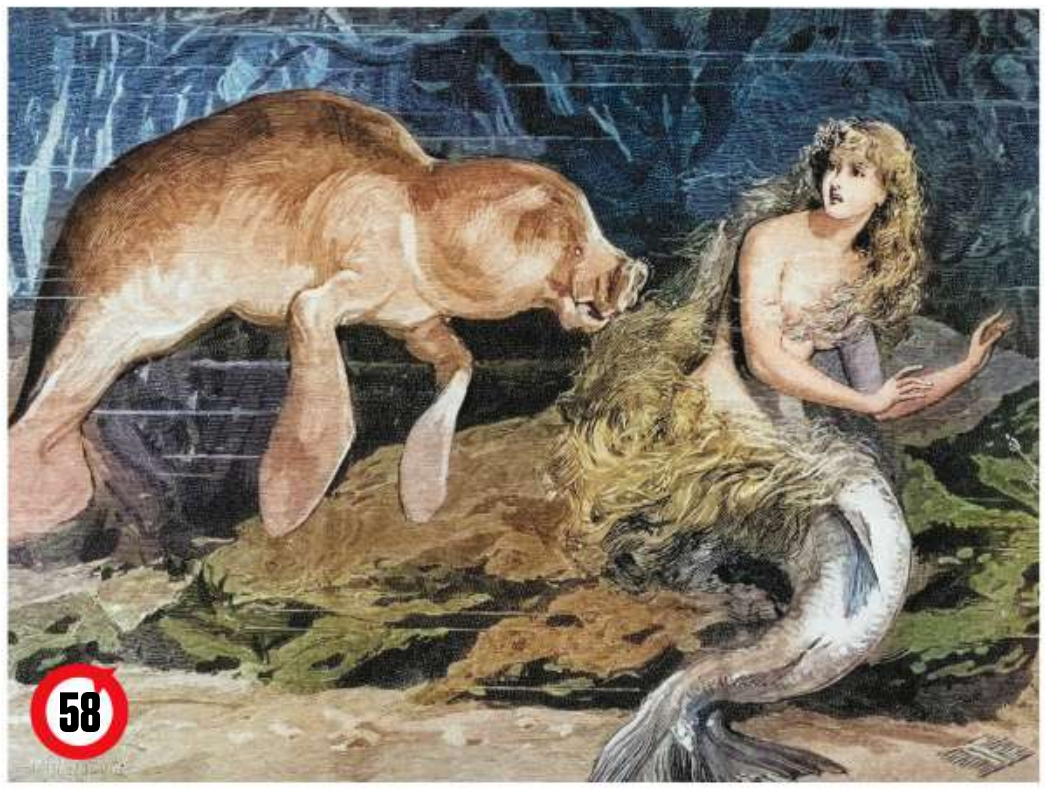

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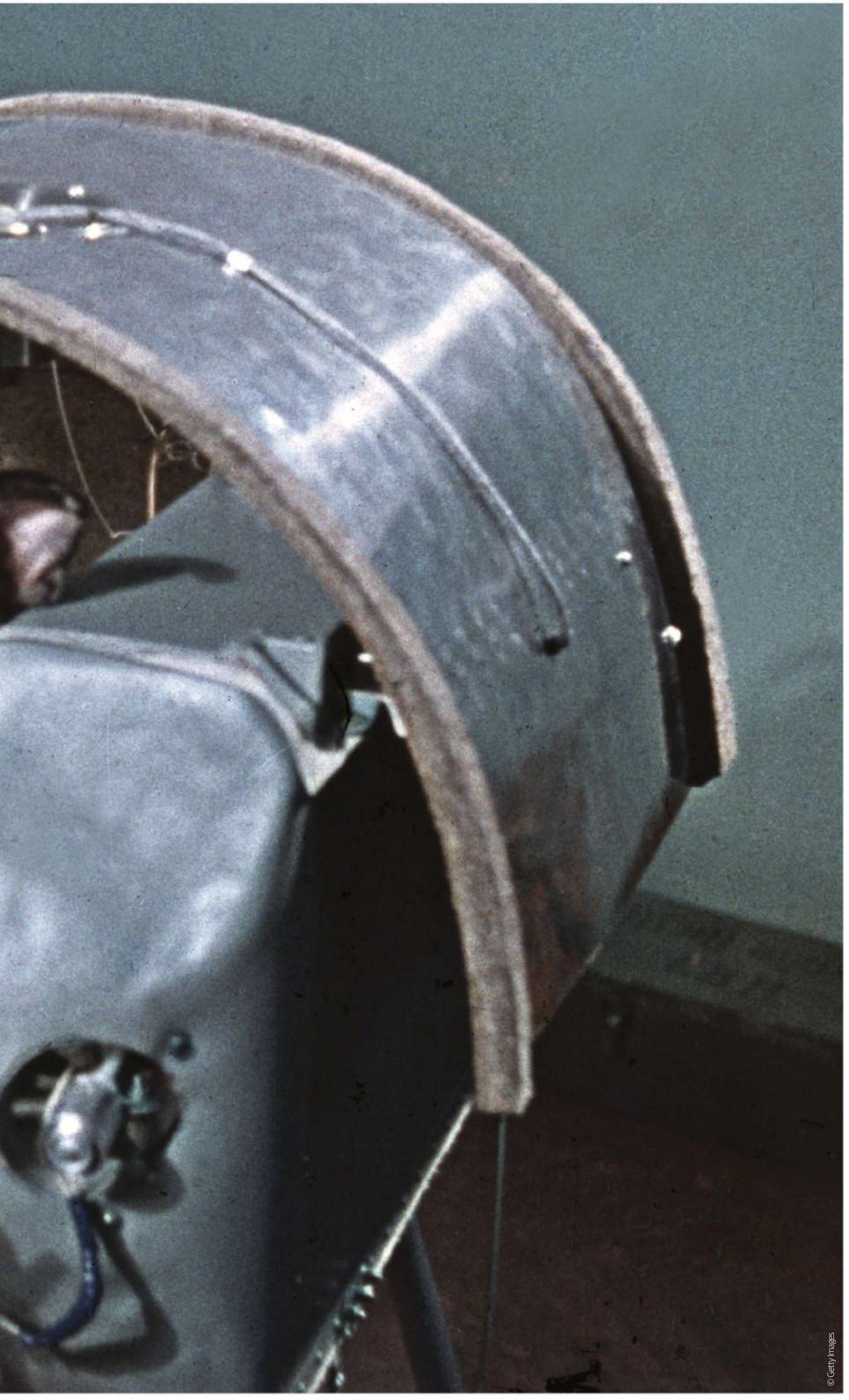
Katharine Hepburn portraying Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1968's *The Lion In Winter*

Eleanor *of* Aquitaine

How the crusader queen dodged kidnapping and assassination to forge the Plantagenet dynasty

Defining Moments



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3 November 1957

LAIKA IS LAUNCHED INTO SPACE

The Soviet Union launched Sputnik 2, a spacecraft carrying the dog Laika, in November 1957. Laika became the first animal to orbit the Earth, but it was never planned that she would return after her voyage. It is believed that Laika died from suffocation hours after the launch. This picture shows Laika in the capsule of Sputnik 2.

20 November 1947

PRINCESS ELIZABETH MARRIES LIEUTENANT PHILIP MOUNTBATTEN

After a short engagement, Princess Elizabeth, the heir to the British throne, married Philip Mountbatten, the Duke of Edinburgh, at Westminster Abbey. They had met as teenagers, and would remain married for 73 years until Philip's death at the age of 99. Elizabeth, who became Queen in 1952, described her husband as her "strength and stay". The couple would go on to become the longest-reigning monarch in British history and the longest-serving consort in history.

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ALL ABOUT FOOTBALL

From ancient sports to village kickabouts and international tournaments, we trace the origins and impact of the beautiful game

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ANATOMY OF A DICK, KERR LADIES PLAYER

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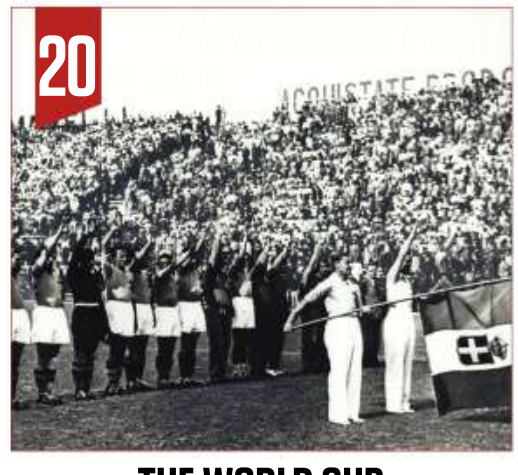
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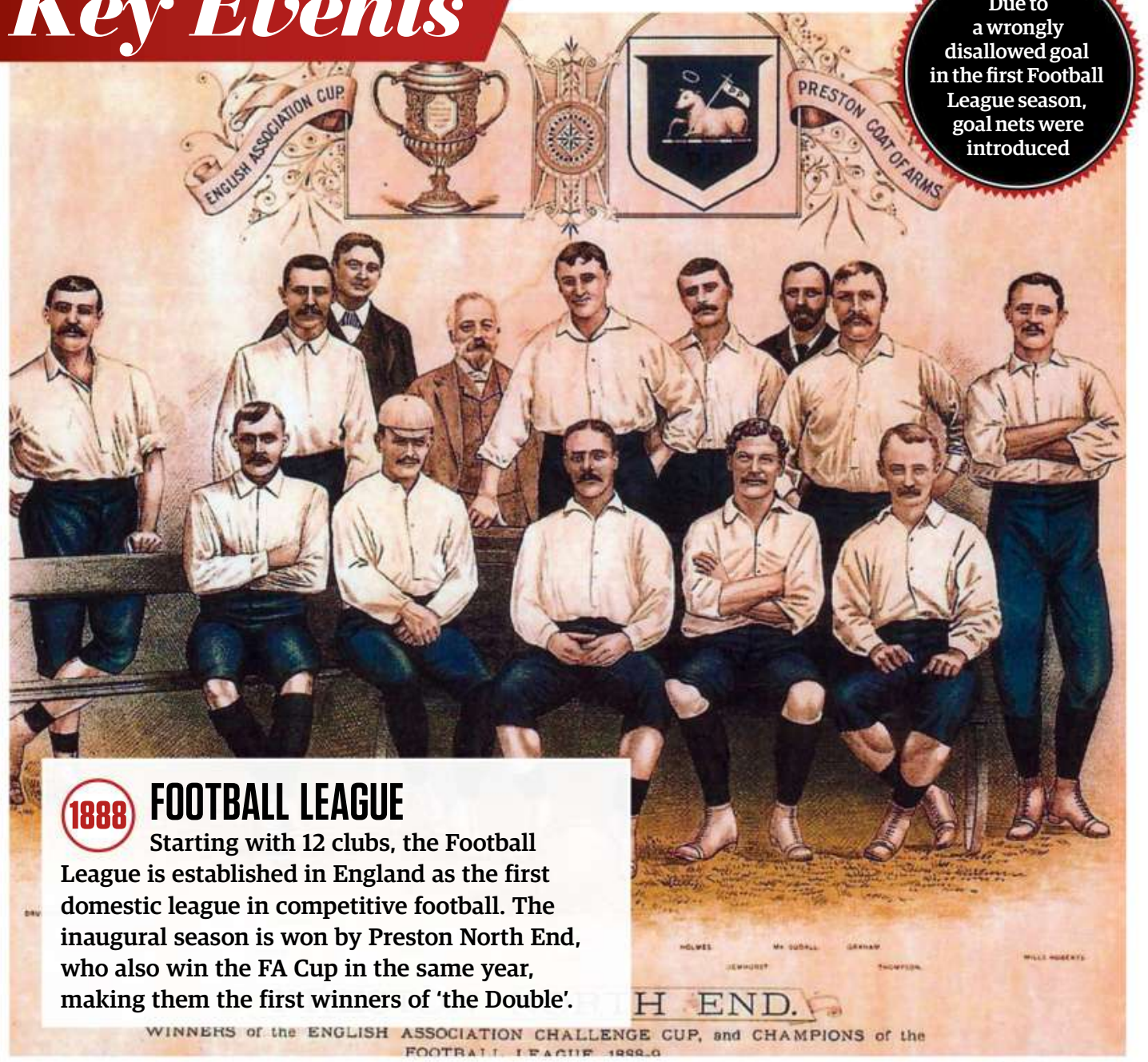
THE WORLD CUP AND WORLD HISTORY

Main image: © Getty Images

Written by Jonathan Gordon, Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

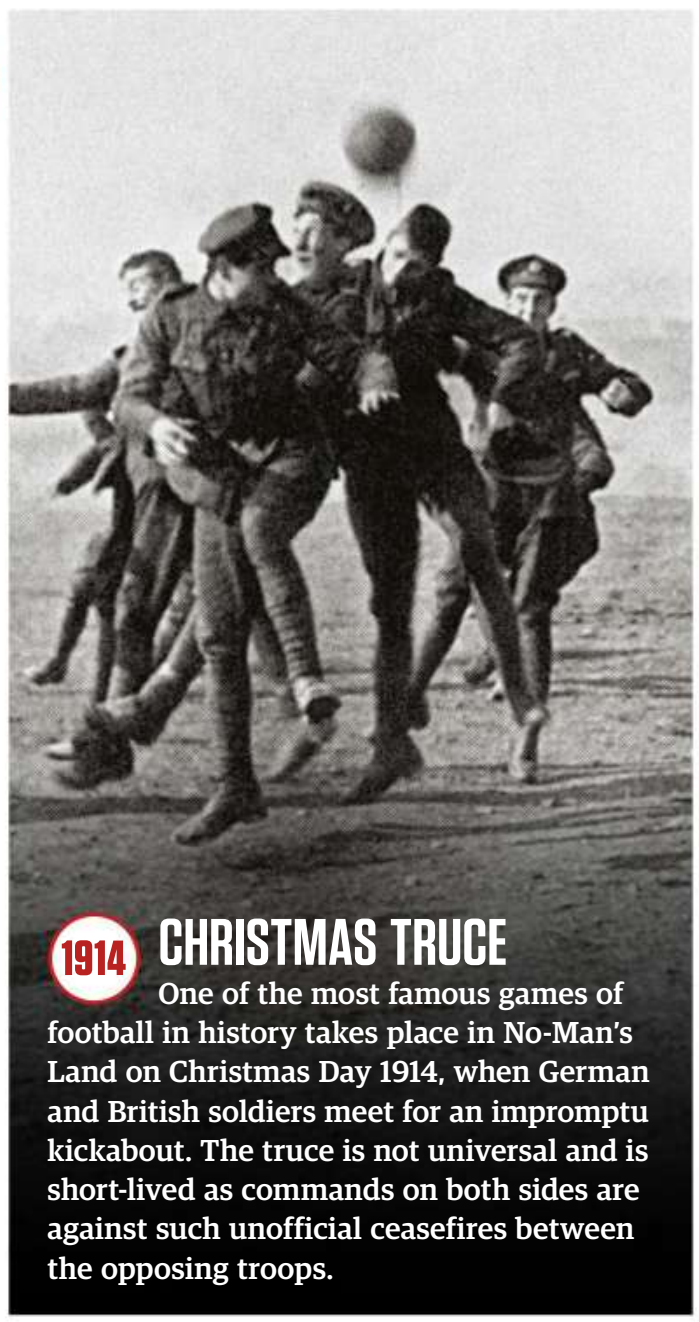
Key Events


ENGLISH ASSOCIATION CUP
PRESTON COAT OF ARMS
H END.
WINNERS of the ENGLISH ASSOCIATION CHALLENGE CUP, and CHAMPIONS of the

Due to a wrongly disallowed goal in the first Football League season, goal nets were introduced

1888 FOOTBALL LEAGUE

Starting with 12 clubs, the Football League is established in England as the first domestic league in competitive football. The inaugural season is won by Preston North End, who also win the FA Cup in the same year, making them the first winners of 'the Double'.



1914 CHRISTMAS TRUCE

One of the most famous games of football in history takes place in No-Man's Land on Christmas Day 1914, when German and British soldiers meet for an impromptu kickabout. The truce is not universal and is short-lived as commands on both sides are against such unofficial ceasefires between the opposing troops.

EARLY BALL GAMES
3rd century BCE

One of the first known ball-kicking games originates in China and is known as Cuju or Tsu' Chu. It involves a leather ball kicked into small nets.

EARLY RULES 1857

Sheffield FC is formed, playing by 'Sheffield Rules'. It is the oldest football club still in existence and its rules include corner kicks, throw-ins and headers.

OFFSIDE RULE 1866

The first incarnation of the offside rule is introduced, allowing players to pass the ball forward so long as three opposing players are between the ball and the goal.

FIELD GAMES
12th century CE

An early, popular form of football in England is played in the streets or fields. A violent game, it is banned by the mayor of London in 1314.

ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL 1863

The Football Association is founded in England, beginning the process of creating a unified set of rules for the sport. The term 'soccer' is derived from 'assoc', an abbreviation of the word association.

FIRST FA CUP 1871

The first Football Association Challenge Cup (known as the FA Cup) begins, with the final won by Wanderers against Royal Engineers, played at The Oval cricket ground.

1872 FIRST INTERNATIONAL MATCH

The very first international game of football is contested between England and Scotland at Hamilton Crescent in front of 4,000 spectators. The game ends 0-0. The first international tournament follows in 1883, played by England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

1921 WOMEN'S FOOTBALL BANNED

With women's football growing during World War I (often as charity events) and with attendances of over 50,000 at some games, the FA of England bans women from playing, calling the sport "quite unsuitable for females". Teams carry on, but can't play in association stadiums, impacting attendances.

The FA ban on women's football took 51 years to be lifted and the sport has only recently begun to gain wider popularity again

1999 WOMEN'S FOOTBALL REBORN

The Women's World Cup ends in a dramatic penalty shootout between the USA and China, with American defender Brandi Chastain scoring the winning goal. The tournament is considered to be the turning point for women's football in the US and globally.

Over 1 million people attended games during the 1999 Women's World Cup

FIFA FOUNDED 1904

France, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland form the Fédération Internationale de Football Association – a new football governing body.

SHOOTOUT 1970

Penalty shootouts are introduced to decide games after extra time, replacing the drawing of lots. First used in the Watney Cup semi-final between Manchester United and Hull, the first penalty is scored by George Best.

MODERN FOOTBALL 1992

The 1992/93 season sees the beginning of two new competitions: the Premier League in England and the Champions League across Europe. They usher in a new period of prosperity for football.

1914 1921 1930 1989 1999

EUROPEAN CUP 1956

Real Madrid of Spain beat Reims of France to win the first European Cup. Madrid go on to win five European Cups in a row, cementing their dominance of the competition.

HEYSEL DISASTER 1985

Thirty-nine people are killed and 600 injured during the European Cup Final between Liverpool and Juventus when crowd trouble leads to Juventus fans being crushed. English teams are banned from European competitions.

IT CAME HOME 2022

101 years after the FA banned women's football, the England senior women's team wins Euro 2022 in a 2-1 victory over Germany. It's the first senior England tournament victory since 1966.

1930 THE WORLD CUP

The first FIFA World Cup is played, in Uruguay, and is won by the host nation. This builds on their victory at the Olympics two years earlier, for which they were awarded the right to host the inaugural competition. Thirteen nations take part with only Yugoslavia, France, Romania and Belgium travelling from Europe for the tournament.

1989 HILLSBOROUGH DISASTER

Ninety-seven people are killed and hundreds injured during a semi-final match between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest. A crush in the stands, caused by poor crowd management, is later blamed on fans by authorities. Families and survivors fight for 30 years to get justice for the victims.

All images © Alamy, © Getty Images

Inside History

WEMBLEY STADIUM

London, England
1923 – 2000

What we now call Old Wembley Stadium was commonly referred to as the 'Home of Football' and was an iconic stadium for fans across the world. However, it had relatively humble beginnings. The site dates back to the 1880s when it was a countryside retreat for the residents of London known as Wembley Park Leisure Grounds. It featured a football pitch, cricket pitch, running track, fountains, gardens and other entertainment.

In 1889 Sir Edward Watkin, who was the man behind the extension of the Metropolitan Underground line, hoped to boost train travel by constructing a bigger attraction at Wembley. He planned a 350-metre-tall tower to rival the iconic Eiffel Tower in Paris. Unfortunately, the project was abandoned at only 61 metres and became known as Watkin's Folly. It was demolished in 1907, yet the site remained of interest after World War I when planning for the British Empire Exhibition began in 1918.

Part of the project would be a new national sports ground and it would be placed right on top of where Watkin's tower had been begun. The Empire Stadium (as Wembley Stadium was originally titled) was built by architects Sir John Simpson and Maxwell Ayrton, and engineer Sir Owen Williams. Construction took 300 days and cost £750,000 (approximately £33 million in today's money). By comparison, the new Wembley, built between 2003 and 2007, cost £789 million (about £1.27 billion today). 25,000 tons of concrete and 1,000 tons of steel were used to build the Empire Stadium.

The first game to be played here was an FA Cup Final, and the association between the competition and Wembley has continued to this day. It also hosted Rugby League Challenge Cup finals and numerous music events. The last game played at Wembley was a 0-1 defeat for England against Germany on 7 October 2000.

CROSSBAR
Probably Wembley Stadium's most famous moment was the victory of England over West Germany in the 1966 World Cup Final. The key moment of that game was Geoff Hurst's controversial second goal, in extra time, that remains hotly debated to this day. Did the whole of the ball cross the line? England fans remain convinced it did, Germany fans remain sceptical. Hurst's shot cannoned down from the crossbar and the linesman flagged to confirm he believed it had crossed the line. Hurst went on to score another to complete his hat-trick and make World Cup history.

STRESS TESTS
Many of the construction workers hired to build the Empire Stadium in 1922 were veterans of World War I and it needed their discipline and organisation to pull off some of the post-build stress testing that was done. Around 1,200 labourers were hired to come into the stadium and sway, jump, sit and stand in unison in order to make sure it was safe. They were led by Captain FB Ellison, who was an architect on the project. They ended their tests by running up and down the steps.

WEMBLEY WAY
One of the most common experiences of fans approaching Wembley was the long walk up Wembley Way, the path that still leads from Wembley Park station to the stadium. With the venue dominating the view from one end to the other, fans of teams competing at the stadium would feel their anticipation and excitement build as they approached the famous Twin Towers. Today, the path remains, with the new arch replacing the towers as the stadium's most notable feature.

TWIN TOWERS
As fans approached the stadium from Wembley Park tube station, the iconic towers were the first thing most of them would see. They were designed in what's been described as a 'pseudo-Moghul' style and were intended to represent British dominion over India. The stadium's original construction was attached to the Empire Exhibition (1924/25), celebrating British power, and the domes on top of the towers were symbols of this.

OUTER RING

In the early years of the stadium, after the exhibition had been and gone, alternate means of income were needed to keep the building financially viable. Arthur Elvin was the man who stepped up to buy the stadium and he brought things like speedway (motorcycle racing) and greyhound racing to the venue. In fact, greyhound racing continued at Wembley from the 1930s until the last track meeting in 1998.

WHITE HORSE FINAL

The first football match to be played at the new Empire Stadium was the 1923 FA Cup Final between Bolton Wanderers and West Ham United, which Bolton won 2-0. However, the game is best remembered for the presence of PC George Scorey and his white horse, Billy, who helped to clear crowds from the pitch and get them back into the stands after people broke through the gates and ended up on the field before the game. The official attendance for the final was 126,047, but some estimates place it closer to 300,000.

COUNTRYSIDE ESCAPE

Hard as it might be to believe for anyone who has visited Wembley Stadium and the surrounding area in the modern day, this was once considered to be a countryside escape for Londoners in the late 19th- and early-20th centuries. It was for this reason that it was chosen as a sight for amusements and after the Great War was selected to host the British Empire Exhibition that would ultimately lead to the venue being named the Empire Stadium.

FLOODLIGHTS

Floodlights were added to the stadium in 1955, which meant games could now be played in the evening. This was an innovation already beginning to spread in the rest of football and meant that working people didn't need to take time off to attend matches. The first international played under the lights at Wembley came on 30 November 1955 as England beat Spain 4-1. The game actually kicked off at 2pm, but the gloomy weather meant the lights were needed in the second half.

UNDER THE PITCH

The stadium was built directly on top of the remains of the tower that was being built by Sir Edward Watkin back in 1889. In fact, when construction was started on the new Wembley Stadium from 2002 and the pitch needed to be lowered, workmen struck the hard foundations for Watkin's tower.

MUSIC VENUE

The 'Home of Football' also hosted many other famous events, the most renowned of which is probably Live Aid in 1985. The benefit concert was held simultaneously in London's Wembley Stadium and Philadelphia's JFK Stadium. It was watched on TV by an estimated 1.5 billion people and raised millions of dollars for famine relief in Ethiopia. At Wembley, 72,000 people witnessed U2 and Queen, among others, including Freddie Mercury's famous performance.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

Anatomy

DICK, KERR LADIES PLAYER

Preston, England
1917-22

ON HER HEAD

All female players in this era wore hats of some sort when playing football, always matching the colour of their jerseys. This would have been to keep long hair out of their faces, something the players would have done while working in the factory during the day as well. In the 19th century games would have been stopped for players to repin their hats on their heads if they fell off.

PLAYING FOR THE BADGE

Badges on kits were not particularly common in the early years of football, but from the early 1920s onwards some examples began to appear. For Dick, Kerr Ladies, a crest with the Union Jack on it can sometimes be seen on kits. It's worth noting that Dick, Kerr Ladies would sometimes represent England when playing in countries like France as the de facto international team.

NEW JERSEYS

Early football jerseys in general tended to be adaptations of rugby or cricket tops since men's clubs were often formed as offshoots of these organisations. By the time of Dick, Kerr Ladies, more specialist football jerseys had come about and thankfully replaced the billowy blouses for women worn in the 19th century. Stripes had also become a popular style for football, so Dick, Kerr Ladies opted for black and white stripes.

WORKING WOMEN

While the men's football teams were frequently offshoots of preexisting sports clubs, the women's game drew from a lot of sources. In the case of Dick, Kerr Ladies, the team all worked at the Dick, Kerr & Co munitions factory and were part of the generation of women nicknamed the munitionettes for their profession in the Great War. Even when filling stadiums for charity matches, they worked at the factory.

SHORT SHORTS

Thankfully, the 20th century brought about some advancements in football fashion that greatly improved things for women. Wearing baggy pantaloons had been common, but now knickerbockers of the men's game were adopted and shortened (to the horror of some commentators). Shorts became the norm for playing football from that point onwards.

REGULATION BALL

Unlike some later attempts to revamp women's football, the women of the early 20th century played with a regulation size football, which was set at between 27 and 28 inches (68.5-71cm) in circumference in 1872, which remains the same to this day. The inner bladder was made of vulcanised rubber and the outer layer was stitched together from 18 strips of leather. They would often need reinflating during games.

BASIC BOOTS

Early football boots for women wouldn't have been much more than standard leather ankle boots, with some adaptations of studs on the sole to help with running on muddy pitches. The first specialised boots more or less followed that pattern and they wouldn't modernise to what we know today for another 30-40 years.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

MARADONA'S 'HAND OF GOD' SHIRT

This strip was worn by the Argentina captain as he scored his two most famous goals during the 1986 World Cup

Mexico, 1986

Argentina's skipper Diego Maradona wore this shirt when he scored what *FourFourTwo* describes as "two momentous goals to knock England out of the 1986 World Cup." Both were scored during the 1986 quarter final. The notorious first of the two earned the moniker the 'Hand of God' goal. In the 51st minute, Maradona used his hand to punch the ball past England goalkeeper Peter Shilton and into the net. During the confusion he convinced his teammates to celebrate with him and the referee allowed the goal to stand. In an interview following the game he brazenly stated that he was able to score the goal "a little with the head of Maradona and a little with the hand of God."

Four minutes after scoring, with the England team likely still reeling from the controversial opener, Maradona sensationally dribbled the ball half the length of the pitch before netting again, this moment later being crowned the 'Goal of the Century'. Argentina eventually won 2-1, and lifted the trophy after beating West Germany 3-2 in the final.

Perhaps because of the controversy surrounding it, the 'Hand of God' goal has become one of the most iconic moments in the entire history of football. In the years following the game, Maradona remained unashamedly open about his deceit. Indeed, he subsequently claimed that the goal was an act of revenge aimed towards England for their victory in the Falklands War four years earlier. This politicisation of the event only served to increase the bitterness felt by members of the England team. In 2020 Peter Shilton gave an interview with *The Guardian* in which he spoke of his anger surrounding the goal, stating: "He [Maradona] won't apologise, and I won't shake hands with him or acknowledge him. I always say he's the greatest player in history but I don't respect him as a sportsman."

THE $7 MILLION SHIRT

In May 2022, Maradona's shirt sold at auction for a record $7.1 million. This beat the previous record paid for a sports shirt, Babe Ruth's baseball jersey, which had sold for $5.6 million in 2019.

'GOAL OF THE CENTURY'

In 2002, FIFA held a vote during the build up to that year's World Cup to determine the 'Goal of the Century'. People from over 150 countries participated, with some 340,000 voters choosing Maradona's second goal from the 1986 quarter final.

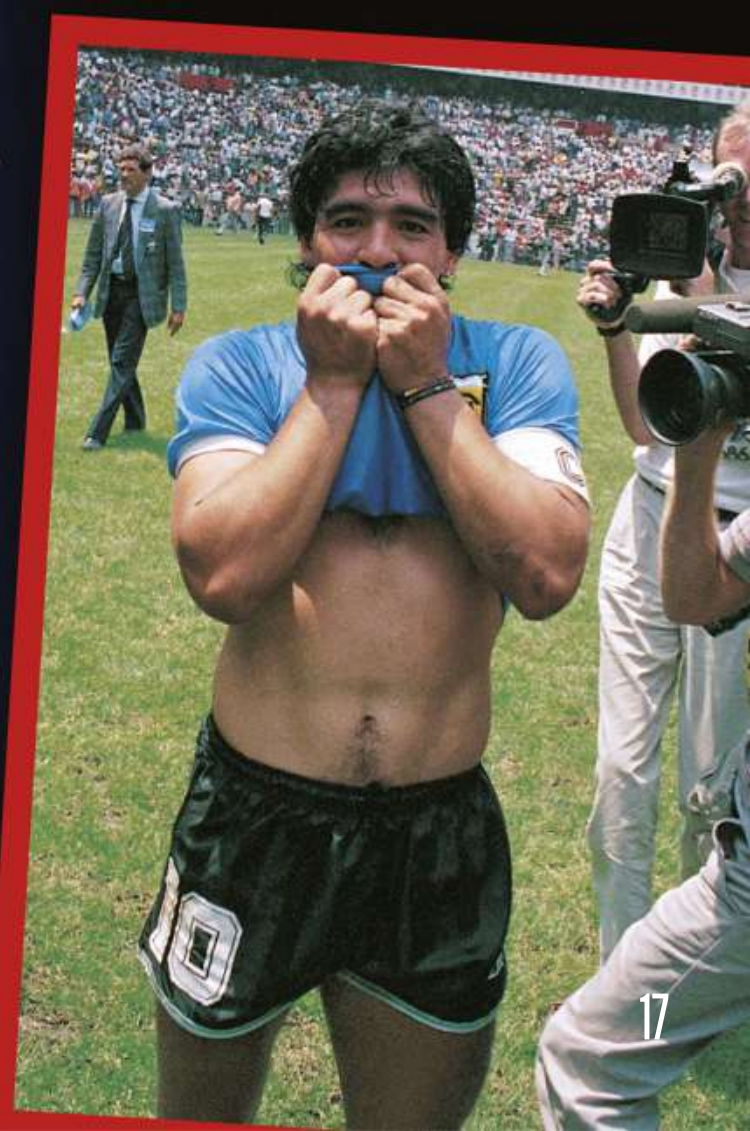
LAST-MINUTE ALTERNATIVES

Coach Carlos Bilardo feared the heavy jerseys worn by the Argentina team would be too hot in the heat of Mexico City. Instead, replacement blue shirts were purchased in Mexico, with the numbers and badges stitched on by hand the day before the match.

FALKLANDS WAR

In 1982 the British territories of the Falkland Islands were the subject of an occupation by Argentina, following a decision by President Leopoldo Galtieri. War broke out between Britain and Argentina, with the former able to retake the islands a mere two months after the occupation began.

BELOW Maradona celebrates following Argentina's victory



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INFLUENTIAL FOOTBALLERS

Ten men and women who had a huge impact on the beautiful game

Lily Parr
English, 1905-78

As the standout player in the great women's team of the post-WWI era, Lily Parr was one of the best players of her generation. Her Dick, Kerr Ladies side was one of the most-watched of the women's teams of the age, even representing England in games overseas. Parr started playing aged 15 and was known for her powerful striking ability and, even though the FA banned women from playing football in 1921, Parr played on, scoring an estimated 1,000 goals in a 30-year career. She was the first woman inducted to the National Football Museum's hall of fame in 2002.

VIV ANDERSON
ENGLISH, 1956 – PRESENT

Anderson made history in 1978 when he became the first Black player to play a full international match for the England senior side, garnering 30 caps (appearances). Known as 'Spider' for his skinny frame and ability to win the ball, he won the European Cup Winners' Cup in 1979 and 1980 with Nottingham Forest. His England career opened the door for the next generation of Black players like John Barnes, Des Walker, Ian Wright and more to prove their worth for the national team.

GEORGE WEAH
LIBERIAN, 1966 – PRESENT

Weah was a force of nature on the football field, capable of taking the ball as a forward and creating opportunities for himself like few players before him. His ability was such that in 1995 he won the African, European and World Player of the Year awards, becoming the first African player to win the coveted Ballon d'Or. After retiring in 2002 he became more involved in politics, running for president of Liberia in 2005, becoming a senator in 2014 and then president in 2017.

NANDOR HIDEGKUTI
HUNGARIAN, 1922 – 2002

A member of the free-scoring 1950s Hungarian national team that was the first to beat England at Wembley, in 1953, Hidegkuti was a revolutionary player, taking on a role of the deep-lying centre forward (commonly known as the 'number ten' role) familiar to modern fans. Opposition teams didn't know how to handle this floating player as he fed the ball to Hungary's forwards. His role proved hugely influential for future managers and players.

Pelé
Brazilian, 1940 – Present

Considered one of the greatest players of all time, perhaps the greatest, Pelé (born Edson Arantes do Nascimento) was also a groundbreaking player for Brazilian society and has continued to be one of the most beloved and respected ambassadors of the game. When he rose to prominence in the all-conquering Brazilian side of the 1960s, Pelé represented the oppressed Black population of his home country. Not only was he the best player in the world at the time, he showed poor young people back home that they could rise above the restrictions and discrimination they faced in their daily lives.

Pelé played for three Brazil sides that lifted the World Cup, in 1958 (aged 17), 1962 and 1970

DIEGO MARADONA

ARGENTINIAN, 1960 – 2020

A key reason why Maradona is considered the greatest player of all time is that he appeared to drag teams to greatness with his talent almost single-handedly. A good example was the 1986 Mexico World Cup game between Argentina and England that saw his two most memorable moments: the 'Hand of God' goal and the 'Goal of the Century'. Growing up in poverty, Maradona never seemed to forget his past or lose his connection to everyday people. "Watching Maradona [play] was akin to an experience of transcendence," said Argentine writer Mariano Siskind in *The Harvard Gazette* in 2020.

Jean-Marc Bosman

Belgian, 1964 – Present

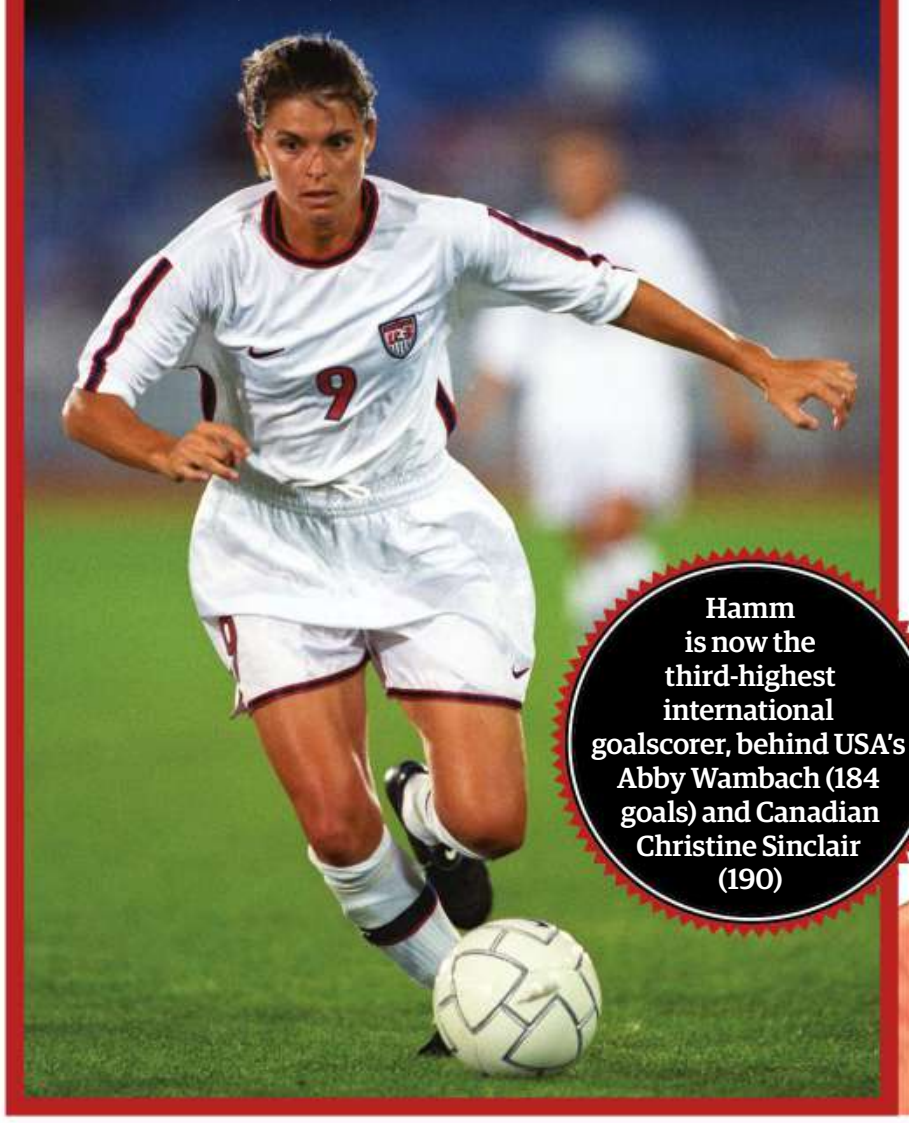
In 1990, the Belgian player was about to see his contract conclude with RFC Liege, but with a new offer cutting his wages 75 percent and unable to agree a transfer, he was suspended by the club, unable to leave or play. He took his case to the European Court of Justice and, in 1995, finally won. Because of this ruling, all players can leave clubs for free ('on a Bosman', as it's now known) at the end of their contract.

While Bosman's case changed football, he was apparently ostracised by his teammates and many in the game who were afraid to associate with him

Mia Hamm

American, 1972 – Present

Regarded as the first superstar of the modern women's game, Mia Hamm broke onto the scene as US Women's youngest international player when she took to the field aged 15. She went on to play for 17 years, retiring in 2004. In that time she played in four World Cups (winning two), three Olympics (taking home gold twice) and was named FIFA Player of the Year twice. When she retired from playing she held the record for international goals, regardless of gender, with 158. By comparison, England's record goalscorer, Wayne Rooney, has 53. She even co-founded the world's first women's football league, the Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA), in 2000.

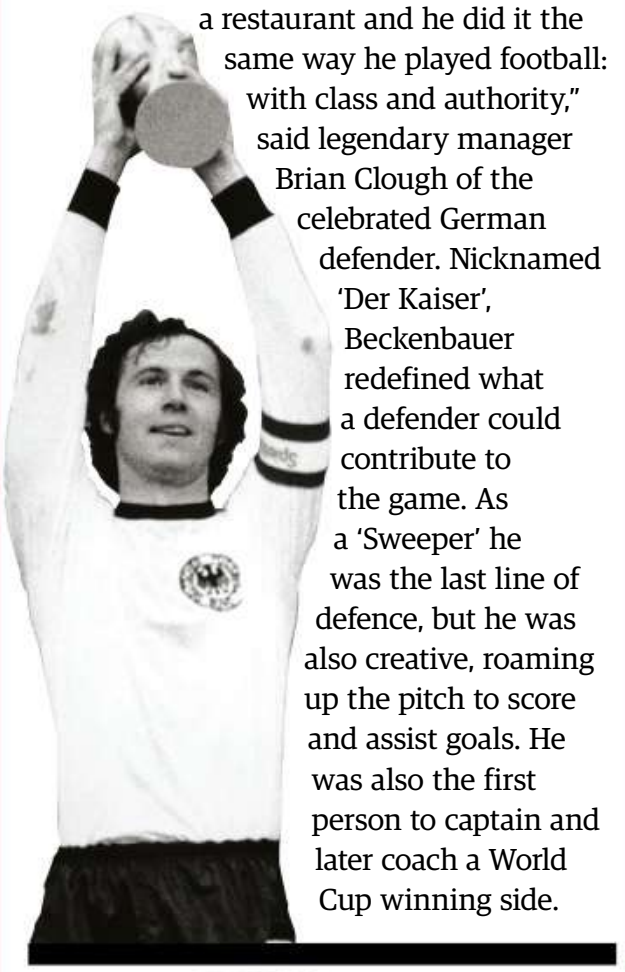


Hamm is now the third-highest international goalscorer, behind USA's Abby Wambach (184 goals) and Canadian Christine Sinclair (190)

FRANZ BECKENBAUER

GERMAN, 1945 – PRESENT

"I once saw Franz Beckenbauer enter a restaurant and he did it the same way he played football: with class and authority," said legendary manager Brian Clough of the celebrated German defender. Nicknamed 'Der Kaiser', Beckenbauer redefined what a defender could contribute to the game. As a 'Sweeper' he was the last line of defence, but he was also creative, roaming up the pitch to score and assist goals. He was also the first person to captain and later coach a World Cup winning side.



JOHAN CRUYFF

DUTCH, 1947 – 2016

Current Manchester City manager Pep Guardiola described Johan Cruyff as "the most influential person in the world of football in the last 50, 60 years". Pretty high praise from the four-time Premier League winner. During his career Cruyff had a major impact as both a player and a manager. On the field in the 1970s he was lynchpin in the Dutch 'Total Football' that revolutionised how people thought about the game and how it could be played (mobile players, switching positions). He even had a move named after him: the Cruyff Turn. As a coach, he helped create the entertaining, passing styles of Ajax and Barcelona that persist to this day.

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Q&A

GEOPOLITICS, CULTURE AND THE WORLD CUP

Professor William D Bowman explains how football's premier competition reflects and impacts global history

How much was the birth of the World Cup an example of growing interest in global collaboration coming out of the Great War?

Many people in Europe and around the world were indeed shocked, stunned and shattered by their experience in World War I and sought ways to recover themselves and repair their nations. Sports was often seen as a useful vehicle for both individual and national purposes. International collaboration, as seen in the evolution of football and the creation of the World Cup, was part of this effort. Of course, no matter how useful sports might be in creating a common culture, they do not in and of themselves prevent global conflicts.

How important have World Cups been to challenging national, racial or gender stereotypes?

In my book [*The World Cup as World History*], I have an entire chapter dedicated to the World Cup and national, racial and gender identities. Let me cite just a few examples of the dynamic between football's foremost event and identities. Many casual observers might think that Brazil's national football team has always embraced players from many racial and ethnic backgrounds. This is hardly the case. Strong racial stereotypes in Brazil made it difficult for Black and brown players initially to be included in World Cup squads. There were of course several exceptions to this rule, but race and racism were clearly part of the Brazilian game in the pre-World War II era. The great teams of the late 1950s and 1960s, led by players such as Pelé, did much to overcome racial and ethnic stereotypes in Brazilian football.

Gender stereotypes have also been much on display with the United States Women's National Team (USWNT), which has featured a number of prominent lesbian players such as Abby Wambach and Megan Rapinoe. They have served as role models for some and lightning rods for others. Many members of the USWNT have also raised the issue of the pay gap between male and female players for national teams competing in the World Cup. Against the claim that men's teams generate more revenue (tickets, TV broadcast rights, merchandise), they have argued convincingly that in their case they have proved to generate more money (larger viewing audiences, for example) and revenue, at least in phases, than their male counterparts.

Has it been common for nations to host the tournament as a means to burnish their global image?

Always. Every World Cup since 1930 has had a distinctive political context in which the host nation hoped to burnish its international image. For example, when Uruguay agreed to host the first World Cup in 1930, which was a modest affair, it was celebrating its 100th year of independence and statehood. Hence the purpose-built football stadium was [named] the Centenario. Certainly [Benito] Mussolini used the 1934 World Cup in Italy as a type of political statement. England clearly wanted to burnish its image as the home of modern football in 1966 when it hosted the World Cup. The USA wanted to use the 1994 World Cup to help generate interest in the game as such and to help launch a domestic professional league, Major League Soccer (MLS). And, of course, staging the World Cup in South Korea/Japan in 2002, South Africa in 2010, Russia in 2018 and Qatar in 2022 were and are political moves by the host nations, FIFA and world football.

In your book you discuss how the early codifying of rules for football reflected a growing trend of discipline and control in the 19th century. Tell us a little about that...

This is a big topic in modern European history in general. In short, the

William D Bowman is a professor of history at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania, where he teaches modern European history. In recent years he has also immersed himself in the history of sport, from which his book, *The World Cup As World History (2019)*, was born.

Argentinian dictator Jorge Rafael Videla greets his national team at the 1978 World Cup

Photo courtesy of: Gettysburg College

ABOVE Players of USA and Iran join together for a photo ahead of their 1998 World Cup match in France amid tensions between their nations

RIGHT The Italian national team give a fascist salute ahead of a 1934 World Cup game against Czechoslovakia

BELOW Elizabeth II presents England captain Bobby Moore with the Jules Rimet Trophy in 1966

Industrial Revolution in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century (there were, in fact, several versions or iterations of an industrialising process) created gradually and sometimes with great difficulty a different sense of time, space and labour discipline. Workers had to adjust to a more regimented day and calendar. Even people's leisure time became more structured in the decades before World War I. At the same time, the rise of literacy, the public sphere, and science in general in the 19th century often created more rules and codes by which people lived their lives. There was in many circles a near mania for gathering statistics, for example. Modern football was created against this background of rationalisation and codification. Kicking games are ancient in world history, but modern football, with its rules, codes and conventions, was something different that allowed rather rapidly for national and international competitions. With rules in place, teams could agree on how they would play against one another.

How important were empires to how quickly football as a sport spread across the world?

The relationship between football and empires is a fascinating topic and a mixed story. Certainly, the French Empire, both in its formal pre-World War II phase and in the period of decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s, was key to the spread and popularity of football in western and northern Africa. The informal empire of British capitalism and trade did not need political control of territories to have a tremendous amount of indirect influence in various South American countries such as Brazil, Uruguay and perhaps especially Argentina. British businesses and businessmen, port workers and more helped spread and popularise football in a number of South American locales.

In other places, such as Australia, India or South Africa, the effect of the British Empire, which was formal and direct in these territories, was complex. Australia's sporting culture adopted rugby and its own version of 'football' alongside the European game. South Africa, too, embraced rugby as much as it did football. India and Pakistan, of course, adopted another British sport, cricket, as their sporting passion.

THE WORLD CUP AS WORLD HISTORY IS OUT NOW FROM FROM ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS

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EUROPE'S FINEST FOOTBALL MUSEUMS

Explore the history of football in Europe and beyond through these impressive institutions

1 MUSEO DEL CALCIO
FLORENCE, ITALY

Based at Coverciano, the technical headquarters of the Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio (FIGC), which in English translates to the Italian Football Federation, the Museo del Calcio was opened in 2000. The Italian Football Museum aims to tell the story of football in the country and the success of the Italian teams, while also highlighting the universal unifying quality of the sport. There are several objects of note on display in the museum, including the shirt of famous player Silvio Piola, which dates back to 1935. A dedicated room houses an array of trophies won by the Italian men's teams: on display are four World Cups and the International Cup from 1930, among others. Another room within the museum is dedicated solely to the endeavours of the Italian women's teams and displays the shirts of some of the most successful female players over the years. A visit to the museum also includes access to the football field at Coverciano, where the Italian team trains.

The museum is open every day from 10am-6pm.

© Getty Images

Learn about Italian soccer history at the Museo del Calcio

2 SANTIAGO BERNABÉU STADIUM
MADRID, SPAIN

The Santiago Bernabéu is one of the world's most spectacular stadiums

The home of the Real Madrid football team, Santiago Bernabéu is a fantastic place to soak up the atmosphere and learn about the history of one of Europe's most successful clubs. The stadium has served Real Madrid since 1947 and was the first ground to host both a UEFA European Cup final and a World Cup final. Visitors to Santiago Bernabéu can buy tickets to tour the stadium, which includes entrance to the museum situated within the venue. The Real Madrid museum displays many of the trophies, shirts and other memorabilia that hold significance as part of the history of the club, which was recognised by FIFA as the 'best football club of the 20th century'. Interactive displays allow visitors to immerse themselves in some of the most iconic moments of Real Madrid's past, and an opportunity to look at the stadium from a panoramic viewing platform allows guests to make the most of their experience at the famous ground.

The stadium is open for tours on Monday to Saturday from 9.30am-7pm and on Sunday from 10am-6.30pm.

The Rainbow Room displays football strips from all over the world

The FIFA Museum is a treasure trove of soccer history

3 FIFA MUSEUM
ZURICH, SWITZERLAND

Founded in 1904, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, more commonly known as FIFA, was established as the official international body to govern competition between the football teams of European countries such as France, Spain and Germany. Since then, FIFA has expanded and now has over 200 countries as members. The FIFA Museum was opened in 2016 in Zūrich and is a short distance from the FIFA headquarters, which are also located in the city. As stated on its website, the museum "tells the story of how world football's governing body has developed association football globally and made it the undisputed number one sport in the world, uniting nations and bringing continents together." Inside the museum, there are several permanent exhibitions to help visitors learn about the history of the association and explore the large collection of football memorabilia, photographs, documents and other artefacts. One of the most visually impressive sections of the museum is the Rainbow Room, which displays an extensive array of football shirts from clubs around the world. Described as the "beating heart of the museum", the biggest exhibition is the World Cup Gallery. Other displays include a 13-metre-long timeline of FIFA's history and a cinema. Visitors also have the opportunity to show off their footballing prowess in The Pinball exhibition.

The museum is open from Tuesday to Sunday from 10am-6pm.

4 GERMAN FOOTBALL MUSEUM
DORTMUND, GERMANY

Dedicated to the past, present and future of German football, the German Football Museum was opened in 2015. It holds a collection of 1,600 objects and uses interactive exhibitions and video screenings to explore the history of Germany's national team as well as the history of the Bundesliga, the development of the women's game and the story of football during times of conflict. With its motto of "one ball – 1,000 stories", one of the aims of the museum is to provide an 'emotional experience' for visitors. Some of the permanent exhibitions within the museum include the Treasury, which showcases a range of trophies won by German teams; the Miracle of Bern, which tells the story of West Germany's World Cup win in 1954; and a 3D cinema. In 2019, the museum introduced a footballing Hall of Fame to "honour outstanding players and coaches from the men's and women's game and cement their status in the historical consciousness of German football."

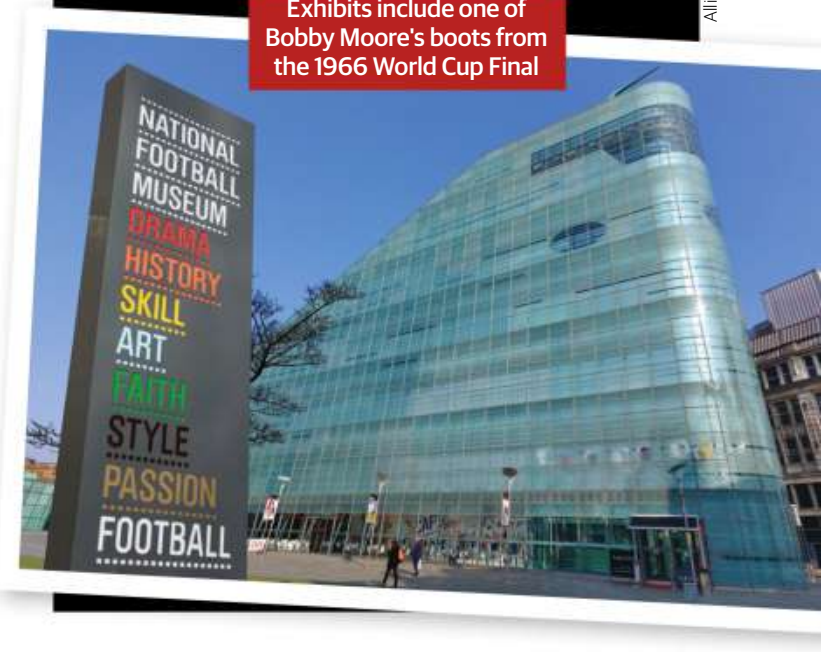
The German Football Museum has many fascinating exhibits

The museum is open from Tuesday to Sunday from 10am-6pm.

5 NATIONAL FOOTBALL MUSEUM
MANCHESTER, UK

The origins of the National Football Museum in the UK lie in the endeavours of one man – Harry Langton – a journalist who over many years amassed an impressive collection of football memorabilia. The collection came to the attention of FIFA, which recognised it as historically significant and bought it from Langton in the 1990s. However, it needed somewhere to display the objects now in its possession. A museum dedicated to football had been proposed in Preston, Lancashire, and FIFA believed this was the perfect place to house Langton's exhibits. The FIFA-Langton Collection now makes up a large part of the National Football Museum, which moved to new premises in the centre of Manchester in 2012. The museum also holds several other extensive collections and the contents of the entire museum was recognised by Arts Council England in 2013 as a Designated Outstanding Collection. Further notable collections on display are the Football Association Collection and the UEFA Library Collection, among others. Objects of interest available to view at the museum include Pelé's passport from 1960 and Bobby Moore's boot from the World Cup Final of 1966, as well as many other pieces that will delight football fans. The museum prides itself on being a family-friendly experience, with several interactive games on offer for children and adults alike.

The museum is open every day from 10am-5pm.



Exhibits include one of Bobby Moore's boots from the 1966 World Cup Final

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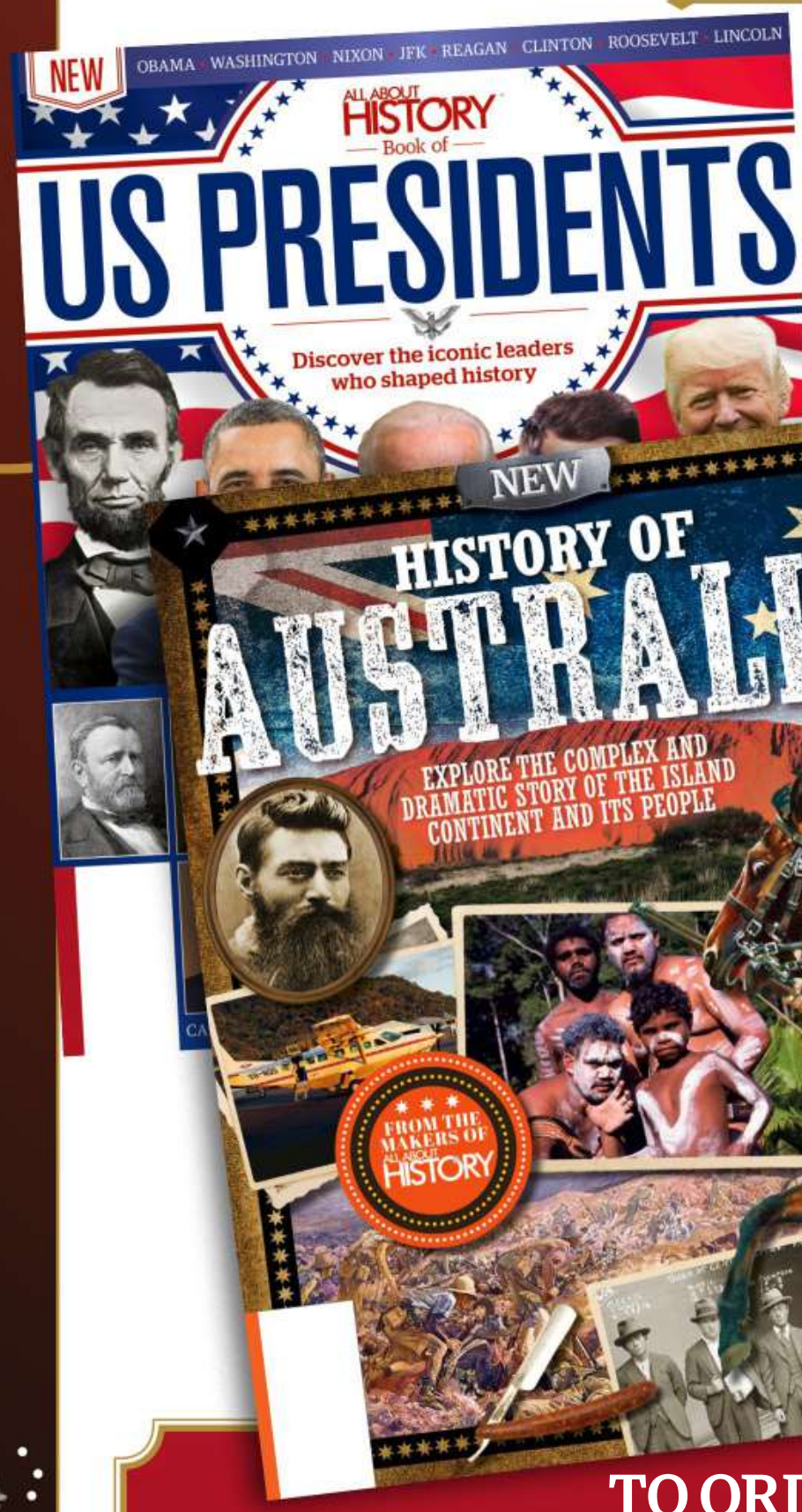
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The First Lioness

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

How the crusader queen dodged kidnapping and assassination to forge the Plantagenet dynasty

Written by Matthew Lewis

Eleanor of Aquitaine had stopped off at Port-de-Piles in France. The goal of reaching her native Poitou was almost in sight, just a short distance to the south. It was warm and relaxed – in stark contrast to the austere gloom of the Paris she was leaving behind. As she rested, news reached her from eyes and ears active across the region of another plan to kidnap her. It was the second plot within days. She had barely made it south from the county of Blois, slipping through the fingers of Count Theobald V.

In March 1152, the senior churchmen and nobility of France had gathered at Beaugency on the banks of the River Loire in Blois. If the spring was warm, the welcome for Queen Eleanor had been decidedly chilly. At the age of 28, her 15-year marriage to King Louis VII of France was annulled on the grounds of consanguinity, a too-close familial relationship that everyone had conveniently just remembered.

Eleanor had enjoyed a great deal of influence over her husband, whom chroniclers consistently portrayed as a love-sick puppy led astray by a woman who threatened to be the ruin of his reign and his kingdom.

Louis had led a failed military campaign into Toulouse as part of an ongoing dispute with Eleanor's family over ownership of the county. He had waged war on some of his most powerful subjects when Eleanor's sister had begun an affair with a married older man. The royal couple had gone on crusade to the Holy Land together, but that had all gone terribly wrong. Monk chroniclers had furrowed their brows, searched for a reason for all this calamity, and aimed their inky bile at the queen. It had to be her fault so that it wasn't the king's.

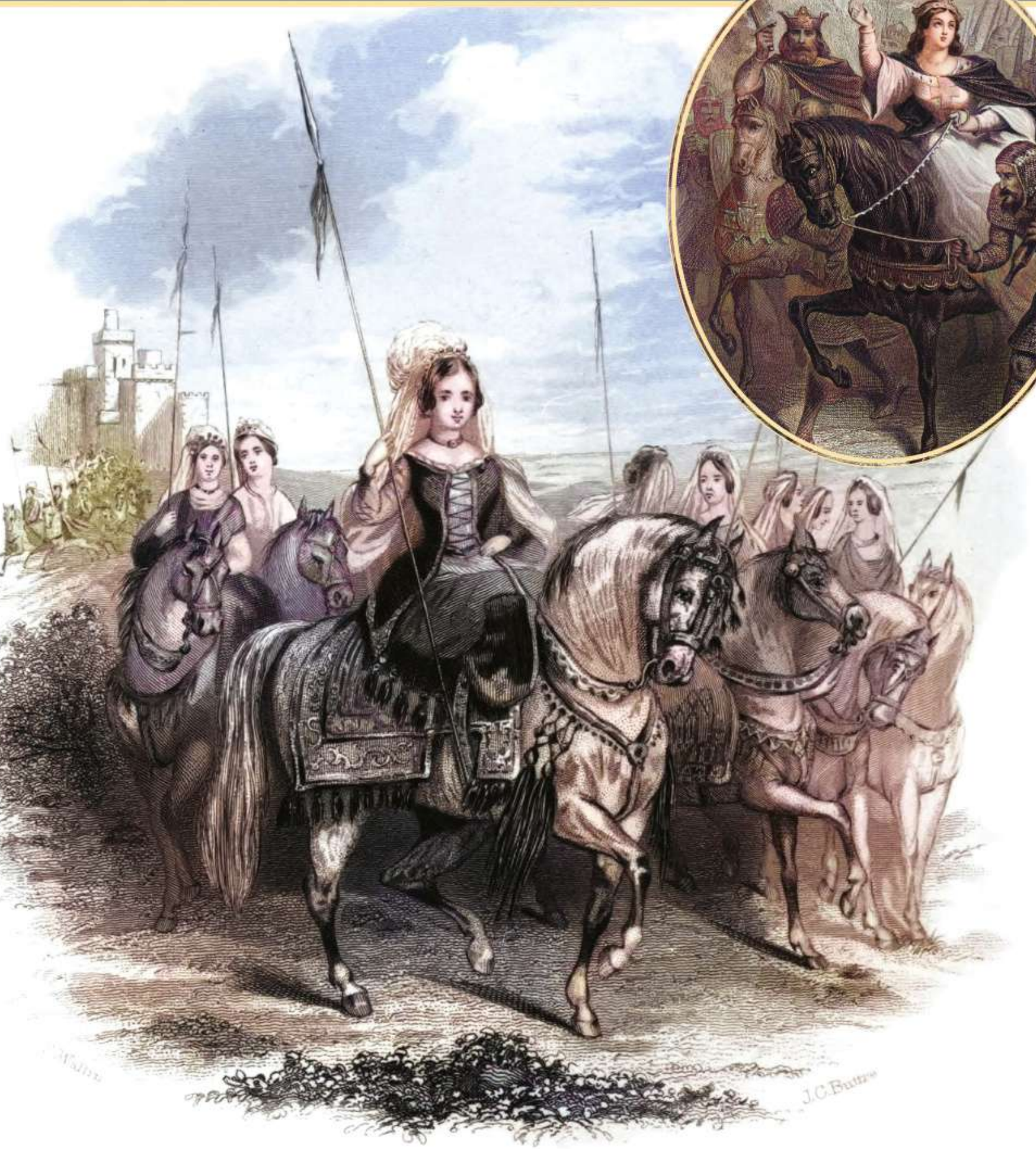
For her part, Eleanor seemed disappointed in

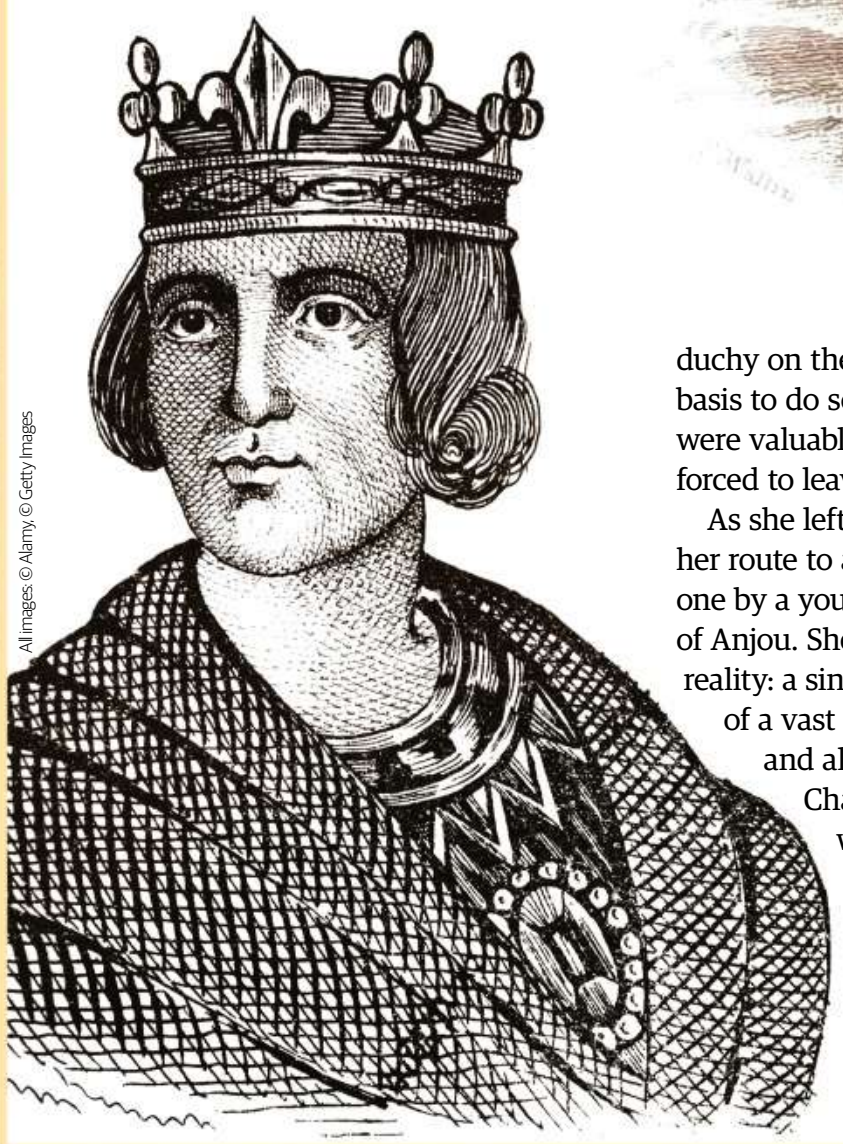
Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

her husband. Her father, Duke William X of Aquitaine, had died in April 1137 in his late thirties. At 13, Eleanor was his heir. She was placed into the care of King Louis VI, who quickly married her to his son to bring the sprawling duchy of Aquitaine under Capetian control.

On 25 July the 13-year-old Eleanor and the 17-year-old heir to the French throne were married. Just a week later, on 1 August, Louis VI died. When Eleanor and her husband entered Paris, they did so as King Louis VII and Queen Eleanor of France. Fifteen years later, as their marriage was annulled, the chronicler William of Newburgh recorded that Eleanor "was highly offended at the behaviour of the king, and asserted that she had married a monk and not a monarch." It was a withering assessment that might well have reflected what the former queen believed.

At 28, Eleanor was single for the first time in her adult life, and she was going home. Her year of birth is frequently given as 1122, but a family genealogy gives her age as 13 in 1137, making 1124 a more likely candidate. The rub of her new-found freedom had been harsh. Part of the concern about the king and queen's marriage had been their lack of a son and heir. They had two daughters, Marie and Alix, aged seven and one in 1152. Louis had insisted they remain with him in Paris. He had tried to claim Eleanor's duchy on their behalf but lacked a legal basis to do so. Royal princesses, though, were valuable. When Eleanor left, she was forced to leave them behind.





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As she left Tours, Eleanor changed her route to avoid a kidnap attempt, this one by a young chancer named Geoffrey of Anjou. She was left facing one clear reality: a single life as the wealthy owner of a vast territory left her with a large and alluring target on her back. Characteristically, she would not wait for the third attempt to abduct and marry her. Eleanor took control. As she cast her mind about for a suitable husband to protect her and, more importantly, Aquitaine, only one man fit the bill – the older brother of the last man to try to kidnap her: Henry, Duke of Normandy.

ABOVE Eleanor of Aquitaine, centre, riding horseback with presumably several other ladies of court

ABOVE-INSET Eleanor shown with her first husband Louis VII

LEFT King Louis VII of France was portrayed by chroniclers as a "lovesick puppy"

The pair had met once before, the previous summer. The 18-year-old whirlwind of inexhaustible energy had swept into Paris to give homage to Louis for his latest acquisition. Henry's father had conquered Normandy and handed it to his teenage son. The young duke already had one eye across the Channel on England, where his grandfather had been King Henry I and where he planned to press his claim to the crown. Henry had sparkled amid the drab gloom of Paris. He was a bright star, rising in the dark firmament of France. He was everything Louis was not.

In the months since their first meeting, Henry's father had passed away unexpectedly. To the duchy of Normandy,

he had added the titles count of Anjou, Maine and Touraine. As Eleanor composed a letter that would define European history for centuries to come, Henry was at Lisieux mustering troops for an invasion of England. When that letter arrived on 6 April 1152, Henry dropped everything and sped south. On 18 May, less than two months after her marriage to Louis had ended, the 28-year-old duchess married the 19-year-old duke.

Louis was furious. Both were his vassal and neither had sought his approval for their union. Between them, they held the north, the west and the south-west of what we would recognise today as France, from the Norman coast to the Pyrenees. They controlled more of France than Louis did. The sense that they were a threat to the Capetian crown would linger, directing policy for decades to come.

In short order after the marriage, Henry sailed to England, securing his position as heir to King Stephen. On 17 August 1153, Eleanor gave birth to a son. This would further add to Louis' ire, since part of the reason for ending his marriage was the lack of a son. Eleanor could no longer be blamed for that. In Henry's absence, Eleanor named the child William, the traditional name of the dukes of Aquitaine. Her priorities were on full display.

Stephen died on 25 October 1154. In December, Henry and Eleanor were crowned in a joint ceremony at Westminster Abbey. By this time Eleanor was pregnant again; it would be another son, named for his father, born in February 1155. There is an immediate sense of the partnership that would define the period of Henry and Eleanor's successes. When Henry was

"HENRY HAD SPARKLED AMID THE DRAB GLOOM OF PARIS. HE WAS A BRIGHT STAR RISING IN THE DARK FIRMAMENT OF FRANCE"

A depiction of a young Eleanor of Aquitaine

WHAT IS AQUITAINE?

The region of France famous for its wines was once an important administrative centre

Aquitaine was a former administrative region of France and encompasses the modern-day departments of Dordogne, Gironde, Lot-et-Garonne, Landes and Pyrénées-Atlantiques. The region was supposedly named by Roman Emperor Julius Caesar. The name Aquitaine was chosen due to the region's abundance of natural waters, including numerous springs, lakes and rivers. It soon became apparent that the area was perfect for the production of wine. While Aquitaine was in English hands many of its renowned and locally produced wines were regularly exported back to England. Aquitaine would remain an English duchy until 1453 when the Hundred Years' War came to a conclusion. The area is still renowned for its wines today, encompassing the famous wine-producing region of Bordeaux, which is also the capital of the Nouvelle-Aquitaine region. Bordeaux is home to 85 percent of Aquitaine's vineyards.

LEFT Eleanor spies on 'Fair Rosamund' in *Fair Rosamund* (1916) by John William Waterhouse

RIGHT 12th century picture of Henry II and his mistress above

BELOW A humorous illustration of the folk tale of Eleanor and 'Fair Rosamund' in which she was forced to choose between death by a dagger or poison

FAIR ROSAMUND AND THE VENGEFUL QUEEN

The story of Rosamund Clifford, the mistress of Henry II, is one of the most embellished tales surrounding Eleanor of Aquitaine

The tale of Eleanor and Rosamund very quickly became a subject for mediaeval lore and legend. A number of them involve Henry attempting to keep Rosamund safe from Eleanor's vengeance by placing her in a house protected by a vast labyrinth. The story states that Eleanor was unable to discover Rosamund hidden at the centre, due to the ingenuity of the maze. However, one day Rosamund accidentally caught her dress on a branch of one of the bushes while making her way through the labyrinth. Unfortunately, a thread of silk, which had unravelled as she walked, now led Eleanor directly to her. When the queen discovered Rosamund hidden in the maze she forced her to choose the method of her death: poison or dagger. 'Fair Rosamund', quaking with fear, chose the poison.

This piece of folklore, and subsequent artistic depictions of it, were important in cementing the image of Eleanor as a malevolent figure. Rosamund on the other hand was often depicted as young, beautiful and innocent. Other versions state that Rosamund instead went into hiding and became a nun at Godstow Nunnery near Oxford, whose abbey her ghost is said to haunt to this day.

required back across the Channel in January 1156, he left Eleanor as his regent in England. She was pregnant once more and would give birth to the couple's first daughter in June. She was named Matilda for her grandmother, the empress.

In 1159, Eleanor presented her new – possibly, she considered – improved husband the same challenge she had issued to her first. She still wanted the county of Toulouse brought back under Aquitanian control. The Toulouse campaign was organised by Henry's increasingly influential chancellor, Thomas Becket. It was going reasonably well until Louis strolled into the city of Toulouse. Becket urged Henry to press on, but the king saw the bigger picture. If he attacked Louis, whose vassal he was in these lands, it would set a dangerous precedent that might one day see Henry the target. He withdrew. Eleanor was to be disappointed again.

The couple's family continued to grow, though their first child William had died in 1156 at the age of three. In September 1157 another son arrived. Named Richard, he is often considered to have been Eleanor's favourite son. In fact, the attention he garnered had more to do with his position. Richard was conceived in Aquitaine and earmarked to rule it while he grew up. That meant he became the focus of Eleanor's dedication to her duchy. In 1158, another son, Geoffrey, arrived, followed by a daughter, Eleanor, in 1162, and another, Joan, in 1165. The family was completed in 1166 by the arrival of John.

In May 1165, Eleanor crossed the Channel from England. Henry was increasingly stretched and turned to his most trusted supporter. When he returned to England in July 1165, he left Eleanor in charge of Anjou, his home. A familiar scandal stalked her here. During her time on crusade while married to Louis, she had been accused of having an affair with her uncle, Raymond, Prince of Antioch. There was almost certainly no truth to the story. Eleanor had chosen her uncle's political and military advice over her husband's, and chroniclers were keen to make sense of it.

In Anjou, Eleanor relied on the assistance of Raoul de Faye, the husband of one of her half-aunts. When the Bishop of Poitiers wrote to Archbishop Thomas Becket, he made a thinly veiled suggestion that Raoul's influence originated in the queen's bed. Of all the medieval mud the monks penning their chronicles could throw at women, accusations of infidelity were the easiest and most effective.

"RATHER THAN A FORM OF REJECTION, THE MOVE IN 1168 WAS WHAT ELEANOR HAD ALWAYS WANTED"

There was no such problem for Henry, who kept mistresses and had illegitimate children (though he came nowhere near his grandfather's record of 23 or more illegitimate offspring). Perhaps the most famous of his mistresses is Rosamund Clifford. Lurid tales of romance and vengeance grew from this relationship that suggested Eleanor wanted to kill her rival. Henry supposedly places Rosamund in a cottage at the centre of a maze to protect her as Eleanor feverishly pursues 'Fair Rosamund'. Like so much else in Eleanor's story, this is a fabrication.

Henry's reign had been an almost unmitigated success. Though the Toulouse campaign had seen him thwarted, and Becket's murder in 1170 had been problematic, Henry overcame these issues, even giving the appearance that the slaughtered Becket had remained loyal. The wheels began to come off Henry's unstoppable juggernaut in 1173, but it was no external foe that would bring him to his knees. It was his children. The part Eleanor played in what unfolded may not be all that it has seemed.

In early 1168, Eleanor had been sent to rule Aquitaine. Henry and Eleanor travelled south together and she remained behind, in charge. This moment has long been viewed as Henry casting Eleanor aside to make space for his mistresses. That does not appear to be the case, though. Henry left Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, to protect Eleanor and sent their second surviving son Richard to her to learn the delicate craft of ruling Aquitaine.

Eleanor was 44 and had provided the king with four sons and three daughters. She had performed the role of consort to perfection. Rather than a form of rejection, the move in 1168 was what Eleanor had always wanted: a return to Aquitaine where she would rule, training her son to protect the duchy into the future. This was no punishment, but a reward; a thank you.

The return home did not go well. Around Easter 1168, Eleanor was attacked by a vassal, Guy de Lusignan. Earl

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Patrick was killed and Eleanor only escaped because a young knight named William Marshal fought a rear-guard action until he was captured. Eleanor paid his ransom in gratitude and the rest of his story is the stuff of legend.

Against this backdrop, family trouble broke out. The couple's oldest son was now known as Henry the Young King. He had been crowned junior monarch in his father's lifetime in the French Capetian tradition. It was an insurance policy designed to ensure a smooth succession. Young Henry is the only person ever to be in this position in English or British history, probably because it went so disastrously wrong.

Henry II is frequently charged with an inability to let go of the vast power he held. This, many will say, is what brought down trouble on his head. Not so. On 31 May 1170, Richard had been invested as duke of Aquitaine aged 12. Geoffrey was married to the heiress of the duchy of Brittany and would inherit as soon as he was old enough. Plans were being made for little John, and it was these that sparked conflict.

Henry's succession planning was settled, documented and agreed with Louis VII in relation to those territories held as Louis' vassal. Geoffrey would do homage to Young Henry, confirming Brittany's position as subordinate to Normandy. Young Henry would give homage to Louis for Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine. Richard would give homage directly to Louis for Aquitaine, separate from the family's other holding. This last measure has Eleanor's fingerprints all over it, suggesting no rift between husband and wife.

In early 1173, a marriage was negotiated between John and a daughter of Count Humbert of Maurienne. Humbert asked about John's immediate prospects and the king assured the count that John would have the traditional appanage of a younger son of Anjou; the castles of Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau. Young Henry flew into a rage and refused to accept the arrangement. At 21, he considered that he held no power, and had no desire to see his six-year-old brother get his hands on some.

TOP-LEFT
A depiction of Eleanor's husband, King Henry II of England

ABOVE-LEFT
Eleanor and Henry arrive in Winchester on their way to the coronation

TOP-RIGHT
Richard I, the third of Eleanor and Henry's five sons

ABOVE-RIGHT
King John, the youngest of Eleanor and Henry II's sons

> "ELEANOR ONLY ESCAPED BECAUSE A YOUNG KNIGHT NAMED WILLIAM MARSHAL FOUGHT A REAR-GUARD ACTION"

What followed was a rumbling series of discontented uprisings by Henry's sons. These were stoked and the flames fanned by the Capetian crown of Louis and then his son Philip. They saw driving wedges into the family as the way to reduce the threat of their immense holdings. It worked. Time after time. Young Henry was a famed tournament knight, but of all his sons, the one Henry II withheld power from. Given what the others were provided with, this speaks to some perceived weakness or failing in Young Henry rather than an inability to delegate in his father.

The Young King would die in 1183 while in revolt against his father. Geoffrey died in a tournament accident in Paris in 1186 aged 27 and under the influence of King Philip. Richard chased his ill father ▶

THE COURTS OF LOVE

What's the truth behind Eleanor's court that settled medieval matters of the heart?

Over time, Eleanor appears to have become more and more a figure associated with love and romance. Myths emerged that stated her court in France became known as 'the Court of Love' due to her encouraging a culture of chivalry. One particularly popular part of this legend states that she personally presided over actual 'courts of love'. As the name suggests, this involved Eleanor and her two daughters taking it upon themselves to solve disputes related to matters of the heart. For example, one such case involved a woman who supposedly refused to recommence an affair with a knight. Eleanor ruled in favour of the knight and the romance continuing. It's certainly an intriguing legend and one that might appeal to the more romantically inclined, yet as with many stories associated with Eleanor there is doubt this is a fictional story and the the courts never existed at all.

The source of this myth appears to be a number of books by Andreas Capellanus, who wrote *De Amore* (*About Love*) at the instruction of Marie, Eleanor's daughter from her marriage to Louis VII. Marie was said to have been charged with teaching the young daughters of various prosperous families and Capellanus' works were intended as a teaching device, with love chosen as the central topic. The third volume of Capellanus works detailed the many cases of the Courts of Love and stated its founding principles. However, according to author and historian Willow Winsham, no evidence exists to suggest Marie was at Eleanor's court at this time. Furthermore, there are no other contemporary sources mentioning the supposed courts. Most likely they were an invention of Capellanus alone, but they greatly added to the legend of Eleanor.

Frederick Sandys' lavish 1858 portrait of Eleanor of Aquitaine named *Queen Eleanor*

ABOVE Eleanor passes judgement in one of the fictional Court of Love cases she was supposed to have overseen

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

across the French countryside and into the grave in 1189. The final twist of the knife came when Henry learned that John had joined the rebellion. All of his sons had turned on him and he died a broken man. Gerald of Wales recorded the king's last words as: "Alas, the shame for a king to be thus overcome!"

Eleanor had been absent from events for 16 years. In the autumn of 1173, as her sons flew into revolt, and the arms of her former husband, she left Poitou. She was seized on the road by Henry's men, reportedly heading for Paris. Gervase of Canterbury claimed she was in disguise as a man, "having changed from her woman's clothes." That might have been an end to Eleanor's story. She would spend the rest of her husband's life in what is described as his custody.

The couple's sons and those nobles who joined them were swiftly forgiven. Eleanor was the one to suffer long-term consequences. The queen was placed at Old Sarum Castle in Wiltshire. It was one of her favourite residencies in England and was where she had based herself as regent. During the first year of her captivity, Henry provided Robert Mauduit with £161 for the queen's expenses. In 1176, the king paid £3 to cover the cost of the queen attending the Easter court at Winchester.

In September of that year, she was again at Winchester as her daughter

Joan prepared to leave for marriage to the king of Sicily. Eleanor would appear at several other gatherings in the following years, joining her sons on occasion, suggesting there was no lingering suspicion of her. After the death of Henry the Young King, Eleanor travelled to Normandy. It seems likely that she visited their son's tomb at Rouen Cathedral.

In a moment of intense grief, it was to Eleanor that Henry turned, and he was being far from cruel to her.

By 1185, Gervase of Canterbury noted that Eleanor had been freed "for a little time, at the petition of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury." In 1189, when William Marshal rushed to inform Eleanor that her husband was dead, he found her free, and she assured the knight she already knew. The question raised by all of this is whether Eleanor was ever really a prisoner at all.

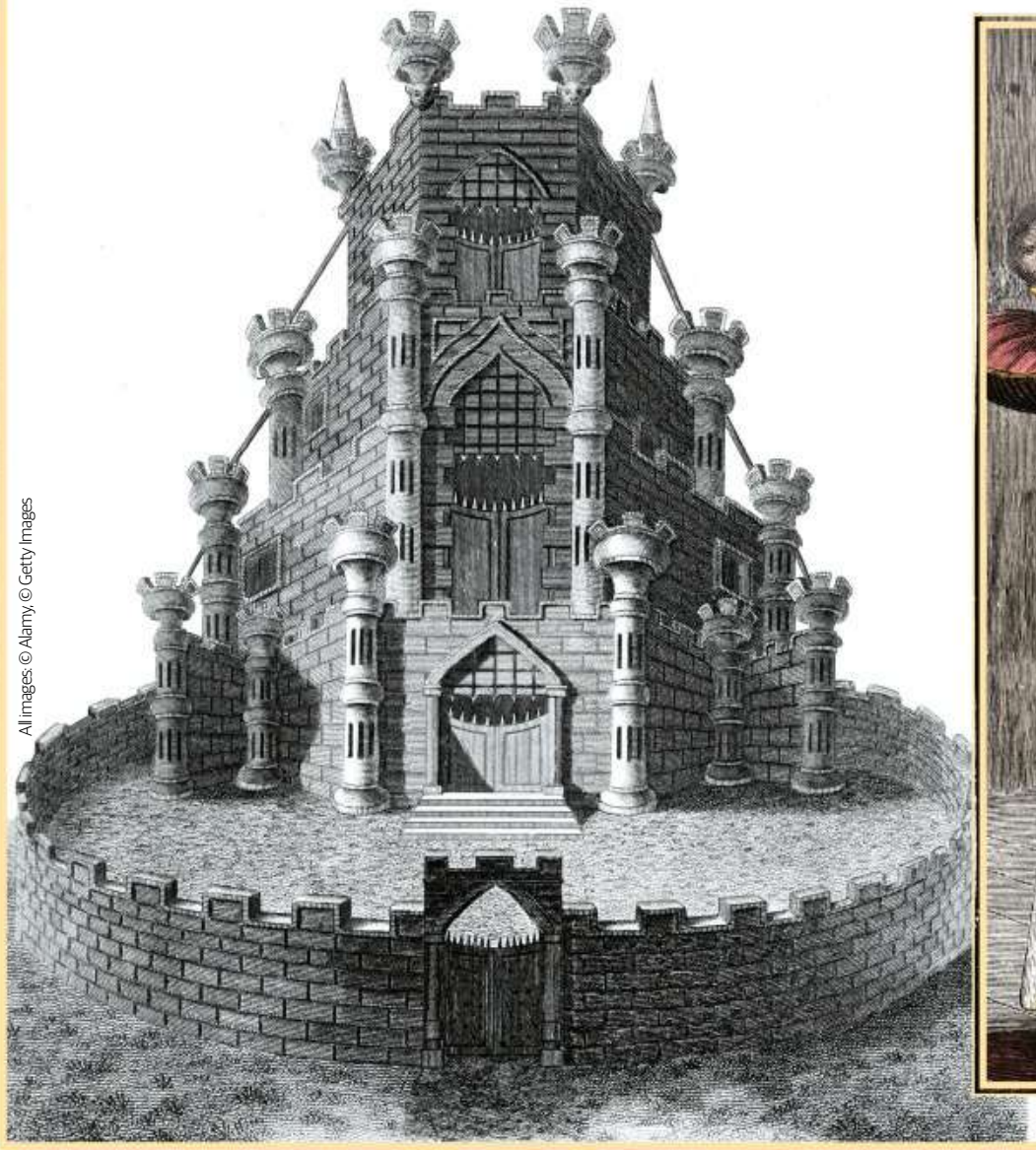
In the wake of their sons' rebellion, Henry needed to be able to forgive them to keep his family together and to subvert the French crown's plans to come between them. Eleanor's time in Aquitaine in retirement had not gone according to plan. It's possible that she took one for the team, accepting blame for their sons' actions so that they could be absolved.

Rather than captivity, Eleanor exchanged retirement in Aquitaine for the same in England. She was well cared for and had more freedom than a prisoner would normally expect. Allowing the perception that she was the driving force behind her sons' rebellion permitted their father to forgive the betrayal quickly. This kind of soft, mediatory power was precisely how a medieval queen was expected to operate.

RIGHT Eleanor is the only woman to have been queen of both France and England

BELOW-LEFT An illustration of Old Sarum Castle, where Eleanor was placed in 1173 and which was said to be one of her favourite residences

BELOW-RIGHT A depiction of the coronation of Richard I, Eleanor's third son



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"RICHARD OF DEVIZES DESCRIBED ELEANOR AS A WOMAN 'AT WHOSE ABILITY HER AGE MIGHT MARVEL'"

Whatever the truth, the years of political inactivity had done nothing to blunt Eleanor's sharp mind. On her husband's death she sprang into action on behalf of the new king, Richard I. In her seventies, she would lead the efforts to raise the ransom needed to free him from captivity as he returned from the Crusade. When Richard died in 1199, she was at the forefront of John's early reign.

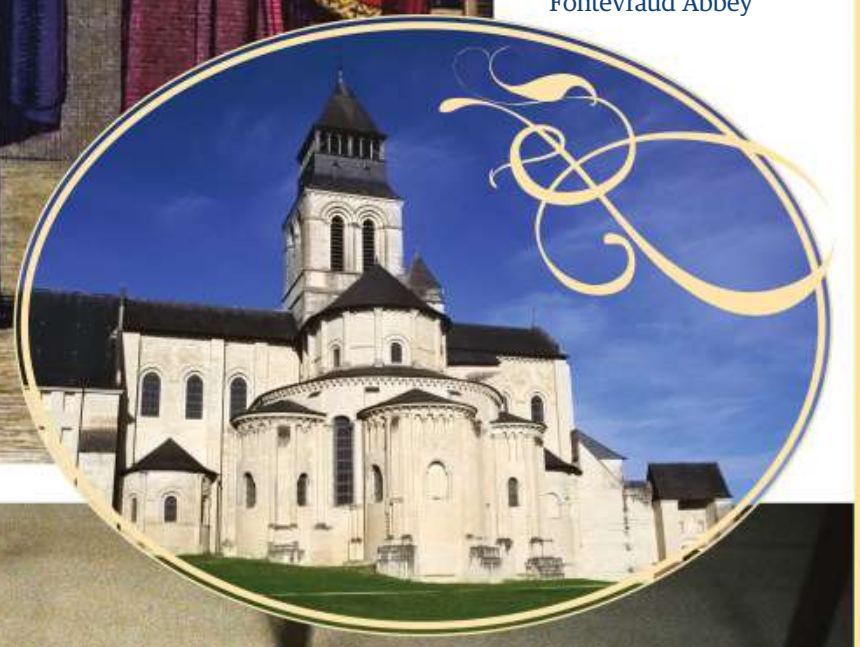
Eleanor died at Fontevrault Abbey, where she had sought retirement more than once, in 1204, probably aged 80. Here, she had planned her tomb and effigy, lying beside her husband for all eternity. The chronicler Richard of Devizes described Eleanor as a woman "at whose ability her age might marvel." It was not just her own age – Eleanor of Aquitaine has enchanted and fascinated people throughout the centuries since her spectacular life.

Eleanor packed several medieval lifetimes into her 80 years. She is the only woman ever to be queen of both France and England. She was a crusader, a ruler and a powerbroker, but was never far from controversy. Rather than being a prisoner of her husband, she may well have played a clever role that kept her family from falling apart. For a while, at least.

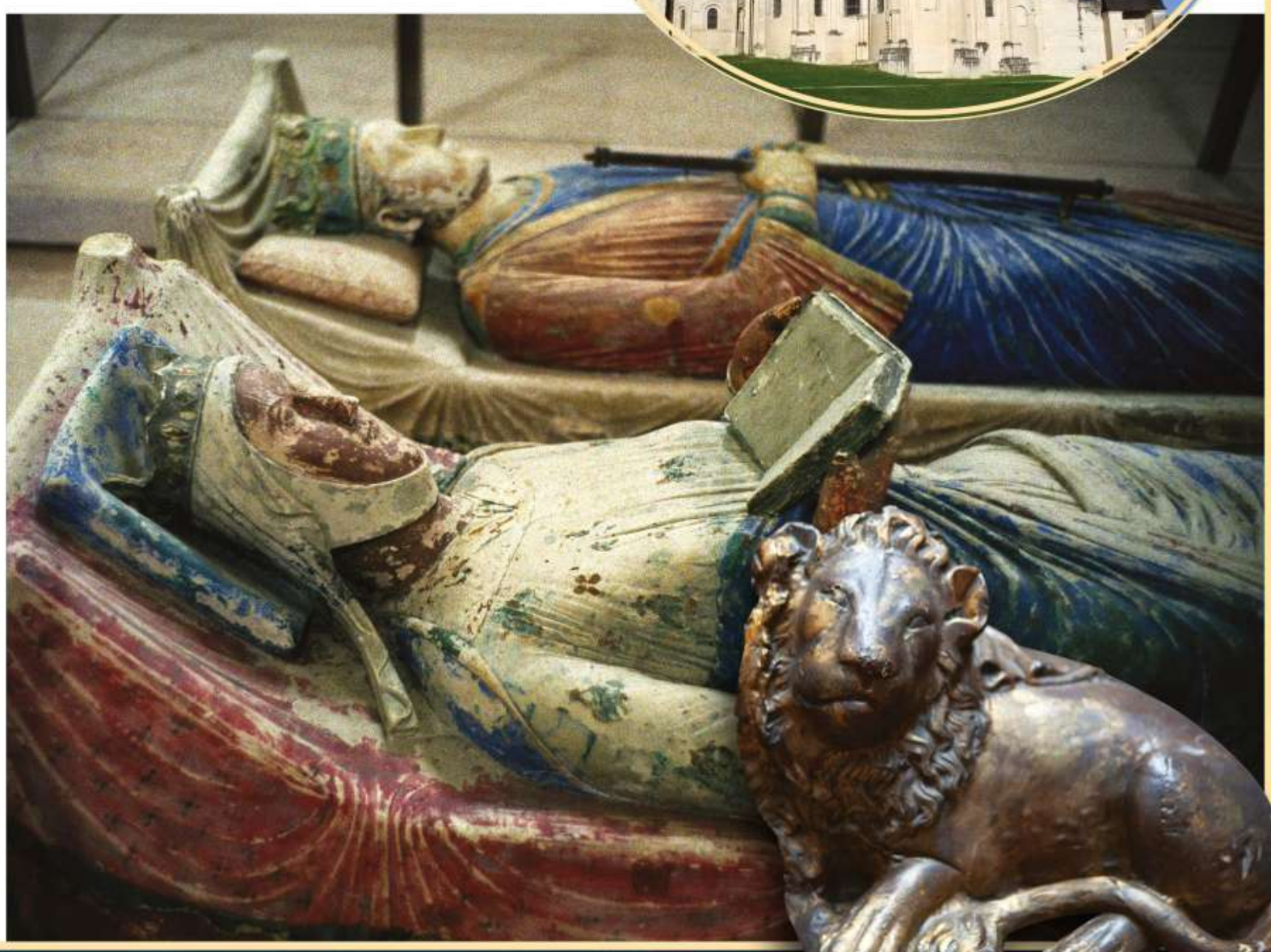
The 'Courts of Love' that became associated with Eleanor and her two oldest daughters are a fabrication. After leaving Louis, Eleanor is never recorded as seeing them again. The romantic adjudications on matters of chivalric love are a fallacy that trivialises a potent political legacy, undoubtedly deliberately.

Was Eleanor of Aquitaine a firebrand proto feminist? Probably not. If anything, she clung to a past in which men could relate to female rule without the misogyny and Christian dogma that was beginning to hold sway in Eleanor's lifetime. Still, we doubt she would mind you thinking of her in those terms. She was a polestar in the gloomy twilight of poorly recorded women, shining all the brighter for the darkness enveloping her contemporaries. Her light still fascinates more than 800 years after her death.

LEFT Depiction of Richard I pardoning his brother John at the request of Eleanor of Aquitaine after the latter staged a revolt



BELOW-INSET Fontevraud Abbey in France, where Eleanor died in 1204



BOTTOM The tombs of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II at Fontevraud Abbey

PLATO

PILLAR OF PHILOSOPHY

He may be one of the pinnacles of modern Western philosophical thought, but the man himself is much harder to know

We are told that Plato was the son of Ariston and a citizen of Athens. His father could trace his ancestors back to legendary kings of Athens and his mother was Perictione, who could trace her lineage back to Solon, an important figure in the development of Athenian democracy. This information comes from a biography of the philosopher by Diogenes Laertius, who was writing in the 3rd century CE. He is essential for our knowledge of ancient philosophy and wrote *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, a doxography (meaning a collection of extracts from ancient Greek philosophers and commentary on them). It is a testament to Plato's importance that an entire book is devoted to him. Nonetheless, Laertius was writing more than 500 years after Plato lived and wrote and, although Laertius refers to myriad sources, there is much that has been lost and much that is confused.

WHEN IS PLATO NOT PLATO?

Plato's actual name (according to Laertius) was Aristocles but he adopted the name Platon/Plato – meaning 'broad' – from his wrestling coach. Plato was a wrestler (it is possible he competed at the Olympic Games) and, like all Athenian citizens, he served as a hoplite in her armies. We are told of his fighting at Corinth and Tangara (in 395/4 BCE), and at Delium (where he gained a prize for valour) – but the latter is impossible since that battle was in 424 BCE, when Plato was, at most, five years old. Socrates, however, fought at Delium and won the prize for valour for his service; there is probably some contamination between their military records.

Illustrissimo, atque Ornatiss. D.D. FABRITIO CELLESIO Equiti S.Stephani
In symposio de Amore disserentes, te Virtutis amantem, jocosa Convivam.
Arx mea muta est: tuas recitabit laudes, sive Socrates, sive Alcibiades Vale.

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BELOW *Plato's Symposium* (1648) shows Socrates and his companions seated around a table discussing ideal love

We know Plato lived a long time; his birth is placed around 429-7 BCE and he lived until 348/7 BCE. Even the ancients were not sure – some make him 80 when he died, others 84. As a young man, around the age of 20, he became a student of Socrates. More than likely he had heard Socrates speak before that, since Socrates was famous in Athens from the time of Plato's birth and Plato's family was well connected. We have an anecdote (another rich source of information on Plato, this one from a 3rd century CE collection by Aelian called the *Varia Historia*) that Socrates encountered Plato purchasing weapons, possibly to become a mercenary, and persuaded him to become a philosopher instead. After Socrates' death in 399 BCE, Plato, possibly disenchanted with Athens, travelled and studied further with the philosophers Cratylus and Hermogenes before joining with other students of Socrates. He then travelled to Cyrene, Italy and Egypt to study other philosophies, such as with the mathematician Theodorus in Cyrene and the Pythagoreans in Italy. The playwright Euripides is said to have accompanied him on some of these travels.

Plato returned to Athens around 387 BCE and founded his own school of philosophy, the Academy, just over 1km outside the city walls in the Grove of Hecademus (the school may originally have been called the Hecademy). His most notable student was Aristotle: he studied at the Academy from 367-347 BCE and went on to found his own school (the Lyceum) and become the tutor of Alexander the Great.

THE DIALOGUES

Plato's importance rests on the *Platonic Dialogues* – works written by him from the early 4th century BCE onwards ▶

Written by Murray Dahm

and which record, or purport to record, the conversations of Socrates and thus capture his philosophical thought. Socrates himself is a cornerstone of western philosophy, its father, and the Platonic dialogues are the most important source of his thought.

There are some other sources, such as the four works by fellow student Xenophon, and many others existed but have been mostly lost. Some of these conversations are imagined – Plato (or Xenophon) – could not have been present. Indeed, Plato only tells us of his presence in one (the *Apology*), but others may accurately reflect the tenor of conversations that actually occurred. This has been a debate of Platonic and Socratic studies for centuries (known as the Socratic Problem). There are other works, such as the *Laws*, where Socrates does not appear and where Plato's own thought is more purely presented. Oddly, however, since Plato himself rarely makes an appearance, his own thoughts are presented through the mouthpiece of others (usually Socrates). Plato does, however, include his relatives. His two older brothers, Adeimantus and Glaucon, both appear in the *Republic*, and he named a dialogue after his uncle Charmides, and the cousin of his mother, Critias, appears in several dialogues (though he is not the Critias of the dialogue by that name). However, we do have some letters and other details from which to gather more information about Plato.

ABOVE Plato is depicted walking with Aristotle in the centre of Raphael's *The School of Athens* fresco (1509-11) in the Vatican. Many other philosophers are shown but Plato's centrality is clear

ABOVE-RIGHT A 1st century BCE mosaic from Pompey depicting Plato's Academy, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli

Much was written about Plato during antiquity although most of that material is lost – it was used by Diogenes, however. We also have Apuleius and Olympiodorus but Diogenes is the most important source.

PHILOSOPHY

Diogenes claims that Plato's philosophy was a combination of the ideas of Heraclitus, Pythagoras and Socrates. Other than these figures, we know his philosophy was influenced by Parmenides (who was probably the most important influence after Socrates), and he used the mathematics of Theodorus.

Rarely among ancient writers do all their works survive. Yet as far as we know all the dialogues of Plato do, although even in antiquity there were works that were considered not to have been written by him (Diogenes names ten spurious works). There are 42 dialogues and 13 letters ascribed to Plato and the authorship of several is still a matter of debate. We don't know when any were written specifically, or definitively in what order they were written; these, too, are all still matters of debate.

The dialogues are, however, usually ascribed to an early, middle or late period. The *Laws* was the last dialogue, still 'on the wax' according to Diogenes when Plato died. The date of the *Republic* is placed around 375 BCE, in the middle period. The others are placed in an early period (*Apology, Crito, Laches, Lysis, Charmides, Euthyphro, Hippias Minor, Hippias Major, Protagoras, Gorgias, Ion*), a middle period (*Meno, Phaedo, Republic, Symposium, Phaedrus, Euthydemus, Menexenus, Cratylus*) and a late period (*Parmenides, Theaetetus, Sophist, Politicus, Timaeus, Critias, Philebus, Laws*). That is 27 works. The remainder are usually regarded as not by Plato even though they have come down to

"PLATO WAS ONLY REDISCOVERED IN THE WEST DURING THE RENAISSANCE IN THE 15TH CENTURY"

ABOVE The site of the Academy in Athens, just outside the walls of the ancient city in the Grove of Hecademus

us under his name: *Alcibiades Major, Epinomis, Alcibiades Minor, Hipparchus, Rivals, Minos, Theages, Clitophon*. The last group are widely considered to be spurious (*Axiochus, Demodocus, Eryxias, Halcyon, On Justice, On Virtue, Sisyphus*).

Among these works are some recognisable names of the most important works of philosophy. Others are less well known and others are hardly known at all. They were immensely popular into the Roman period and beyond (over 250 manuscripts survive) and gave rise to later philosophical movements such as Neoplatonism from the mid-3rd century CE onwards. Although he survived in the East, and the earliest manuscript to survive dates from the late 9th century CE, Plato was only rediscovered in the West during the Renaissance in the 15th century, but he soon became preeminent once more along with his student, Aristotle.

In the early dialogues, Plato considered important questions of moral or religious concepts: courage in the *Laches*, temperance in the *Charmides*, piety in the *Euthyphro*, justice in book one of the *Republic*. These covered four of the five cardinal virtues of ancient Greece. The fifth, wisdom or knowledge, was what Socrates considered an important part of all the others. It may be that the early dialogues were closest to Socrates' own approach to philosophy; in each dialogue a series of definitions of a concept are examined and ultimately rejected and the conversation is inconclusive. The reader has been taken on the journey as part of their own philosophical education.

The middle dialogues are usually longer and introduce Plato's own metaphysical and epistemological positions. Each explores a question, such as 'can virtue be taught?' which we see in the *Protagoras* and the *Meno*, or a concept like the immortality of the soul. The most influential philosophies come in the *Republic*, which discusses the government of the ideal city and the ideal ruler, and the Theory of Forms (across several dialogues) where the essence of an idea or form such as beauty, knowledge or piety is unchanging and timeless in comparison to a thing or its appearance such as a tree, a table, a beautiful girl. Things change over time but the form or idea does not. The theory is never espoused in one place, however. In the late dialogues, although Socrates is still used as the interlocutor, the views are almost entirely Plato's own (usually around the Theory of Forms).

PUTTING IT INTO PRACTICE

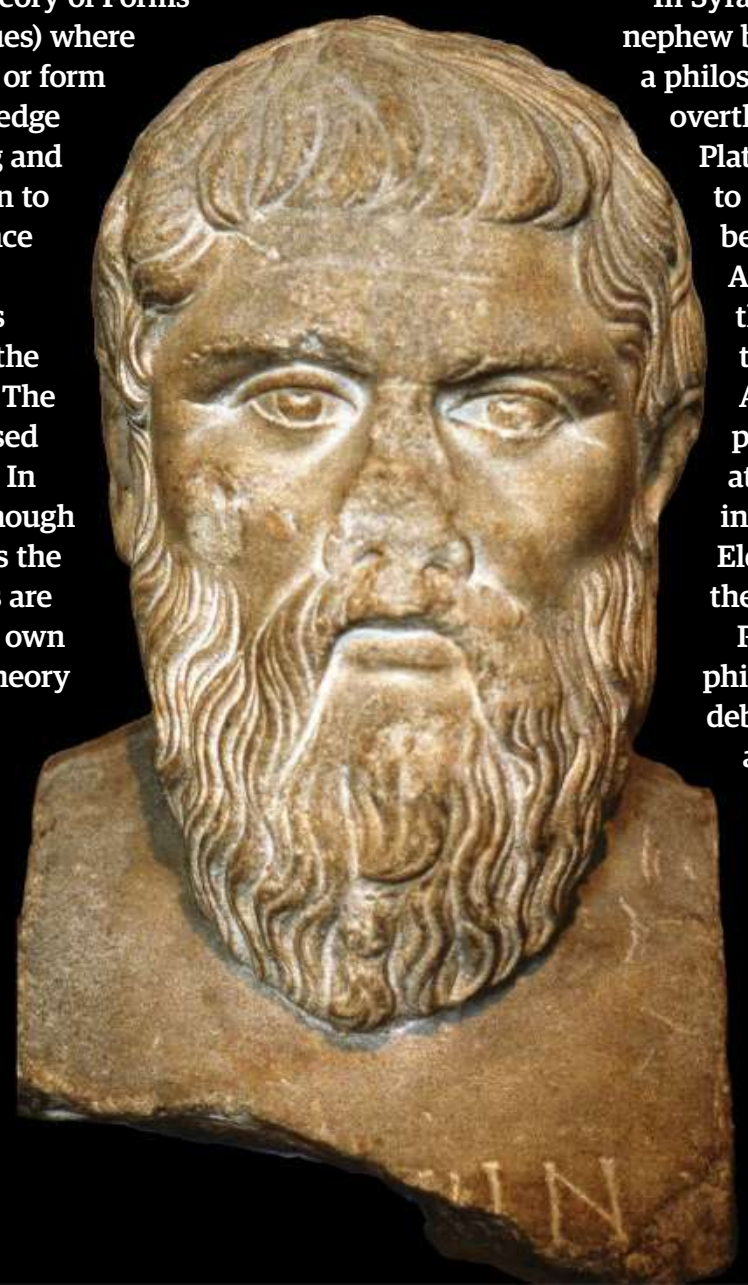
One of the most important philosophical experiments Plato undertook was to attempt to train a real-life philosopher king (the ideal ruler espoused in the *Republic*). One of Plato's students, Dion, was the father-in-law of the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I, and invited Plato to Syracuse. This visit was a disaster. Plato told the ruler he was talking "like a tyrant" and barely avoided being put to death but was sold into slavery – his freedom was purchased by a philosopher from Cyrene.

Despite this close shave, Plato agreed to return to Syracuse in 367 BCE as the tutor of Dionysius II, son of the previous tyrant and Dion's nephew. Plato was now in his late-60s, perhaps even his 70s, but a practical experiment in philosophy was important to him. Unfortunately, this attempt, too, failed miserably (we have Plato's own account and several historians tell us of it). He returned to Athens but was lured back for a third attempt in 361 BCE. But Dionysius simply did not want to be restricted in his actions by philosophy and abandoned Plato's teachings. Plato had advised him to exercise self-control and make loyal friends. Dionysius did respect Plato himself, however, but kept him under guard – Plato describes himself as a bird in a cage. He eventually escaped and returned to Athens; he did not try to create a real philosopher-king again.

In Syracuse, Dion overthrew his nephew but also failed to become a philosopher-king. He was in turn overthrown by another student of Plato, Callipus, who was no closer to the philosophical idea they'd been taught. Plato's student Aristotle, however, was raised in the same ideology and would try to do the same with his student Alexander the Great. Indeed, philosophers since Plato have attempted to put their theories into practice, from Seneca the Elder to René Descartes – all on the model of Plato.

Plato's works contain philosophical questions that are debated today and there are still adherents to his philosophy: Platonists. The nature of ideas such as piety, goodness, beauty, truth, courage and friendship, the Theory of Forms, or arguments about the ideal form of government or ruler, remain cornerstones of Western thought.

BELOW A Roman marble bust of Plato copied from the Greek original made for the Academy in Athens by the 4th century BCE sculptor Silanion, probably after Plato's death



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THE BIRTH OF THE JET FIGHTER

Jet fighters are the masters of modern aerial combat, but in the early years their dominance was far from inevitable

Written by Stuart Hadaway

In July 1944, the world's first two jet fighters began operational service. The Nazis' Messerschmitt Me 262 was being flown by an evaluation unit, as it had been for several months, but the skies over Germany were a dangerous place, full of Allied aircraft. On 26 July 1944 test pilot Lieutenant Alfred Schreiber engaged a Royal Air Force (RAF) de Havilland Mosquito reconnaissance aircraft. Over the following weeks, the type would see increasing action even while still under development, with the first front-line unit, Kommando Nowotny, being formed in October 1944.

In July 1944 the RAF re-equipped No 616 Squadron with the Gloster Meteor. Restricted to operations over the UK, the type was soon in use against German V-1 rockets over southern England. Only in January 1945 would they be tentatively sent to the Continent, but forbidden from crossing the front lines until that April. They would claim nearly 50 enemy aircraft destroyed by the end of World War II, but all of them on the ground during attacks on airfields. The Me 262, meanwhile, would claim over ten-times as many victories in air-to-air combat.

ORIGINS OF THE JET ENGINE

The type of engines used by both sides were turbojets, where air was sucked into compressors, heated in a combustion chamber where fuel was added, and then expanded through a turbine and out the back of the engine. Ideas for other types of jet engines ▶

© Getty Images

“ALREADY SCARCE RESOURCES WERE POURED INTO ROCKETS, ROCKET-ENGINED FIGHTERS AND JET AIRCRAFT”

had been experimented with for decades, but it was RAF officer Frank Whittle who first produced a workable engine. Whittle had drawn up his first designs in 1928 and patented them in 1930. He presented his ideas to the RAF, but they showed little interest in the idea. After all, in 1930 the RAF was using biplanes made out of wood and fabric, and airframes that could withstand the strain of a jet engine were a dim and distant dream. However, Whittle was allowed to pursue his idea, and in 1937 he built his first working model. A specification was then issued for a jet fighter-type aircraft, and the Gloster E.28/39 duly first flew in 1941.

By then, Whittle had been overtaken by German Hans von Ohain, who had produced his own turbojet plans (benefiting from Whittle’s patent) in 1933. His first working model also ran in 1937, five months after Whittle’s, but official interest in the project then accelerated progress. In August 1939, the Heinkel He 178 became the world’s first aircraft to fly under turbojet power alone. Both countries were now working towards producing a practical jet warplane.

Although both were designed at the same time as twin-engined jet fighters, intended for use as fighters and for ground attack, the Meteor and the Me 262 were very different aircraft. These differences in many ways typified the radically different approaches taken by the British (and by extension the other Allies) and the Germans in developing jet fighters.

WAR WINNER OR OPTIONAL EXTRA?

The Germans were losing WWII on all fronts by the time the Me 262 became operational, and were desperate for a secret weapon that would cause ‘the leap frog’ (‘Der Brocksprung’) to put them so far ahead of the Allies that the course of the conflict would swing irreversibly back in their favour. Driven by a leadership obsessed with exotic technology, already scarce resources were poured into rockets, rocket-engined fighters and jet aircraft. The late-war Germans are famous for their wide range of futuristic aircraft designs, even if the majority of these were beyond the technical boundaries of the time. Their approach was highly mathematical, and based on extensive calculations and applications of theoretical science, but the country lacked the raw materials, manufacturing capacity and time to produce such aircraft. The Me 262 was at the more practical end of the spectrum of designs. The type looked futuristic, with a streamlined fuselage and swept back wings (due to balance issues; it was nowhere near fast enough for aerodynamics to require them), but there were still flaws. The poor quality of the materials used in the Jumo 004 engines led to a practical life of as little as ten hours flight time.

Air Commodore Sir Frank Whittle, inventor of the turbojet engine

On the other hand, the Meteor’s design was much more traditional. The fuselage was highly conventional, as were the straight wings. The type was about 190km/h (120mph) slower than the Me 262 but its engines were far more reliable. Crucially, the Allies were not looking for a miraculous, war-winning weapon. They knew that success depended on manufacturing large numbers of proven existing (piston-engined) types, with incremental improvements where necessary, to the extent that the Gloster Aircraft Company was chosen to develop the first jet fighters specifically because the company was not developing any current frontline types.

The Americans took a similar approach, entrusting jet fighter development to the Bell Aircraft Corporation, and went a step further in applying the same principle to engine design. While the British used their most experienced engine manufacturer Rolls-Royce (albeit based on Frank Whittle’s designs), the Americans gave the engine designs provided by the British government in 1941 to a company that had no aircraft

ABOVE Whittle’s Power Jets W.1 engine, used in the Gloster E.28/39 and as the basis of the Meteor’s Rolls-Royce Welland and the US’s General Electric J-series engines

CRAMPED COCKPIT

The cockpit of the Meteor was cramped and crowded. Ejecting could be hazardous, with the risk of cuts or even broken bones.

INSIDE THE GLOSTER METEOR FR.9

NOSE SECTION

The only major design change in the FR.9 iteration was the camera compartment, with multiple windows for aiming the equipment.

engine experience (General Electric) so as not to detract from mainstream production.

The Allies could and did take the longer view. Jet fighters were not needed to win World War II and they could take their time to develop reliable and effective aircraft, and the related engines and fuel, at a slower pace. Their eyes were on the future and, in particular for Britain, the potential for post-war sales to help boost its shattered economy. In the months and years following the war, the Meteor would go through numerous upgrades and new marks, rapidly increasing in speed and performance, setting several speed and altitude records, and serving in air forces around the world into the 1960s. The Me 262 briefly remained in production by a Czechoslovakian company, but only 12 more would be built. It was too crude and unreliable for post-war markets.

Britain dominated global jet fighter production at the end of WWII. Many post-war designs – the 'first generation' of jet fighters – were already well-advanced in their development by the summer of 1945. The twin-boom tailed de Havilland Vampire had entered production in 1944, and many other land and naval fighters followed in 1945 and 1946. The first US jet fighter, the Lockheed P-80 Shooting Star, was already arriving in France in early 1945, but relied on essentially British engines.

The Soviets, meanwhile, were also developing their plans. Work began in 1944 on the Sukhoi Su-9, which first flew in 1946. It was essentially a copy of the Me 262 using copies of the Jumo 004 engine. Like the originals, these proved problematic, and it was only when the British sold the Soviets a number of Rolls-Royce

RIGHT The Americans' first jet fighter, the Lockheed P-80 Shooting Star, had the engine in the fuselage but was otherwise quite conventional

BELOW-RIGHT The Lockheed P-80 Shooting Star production line, 1945

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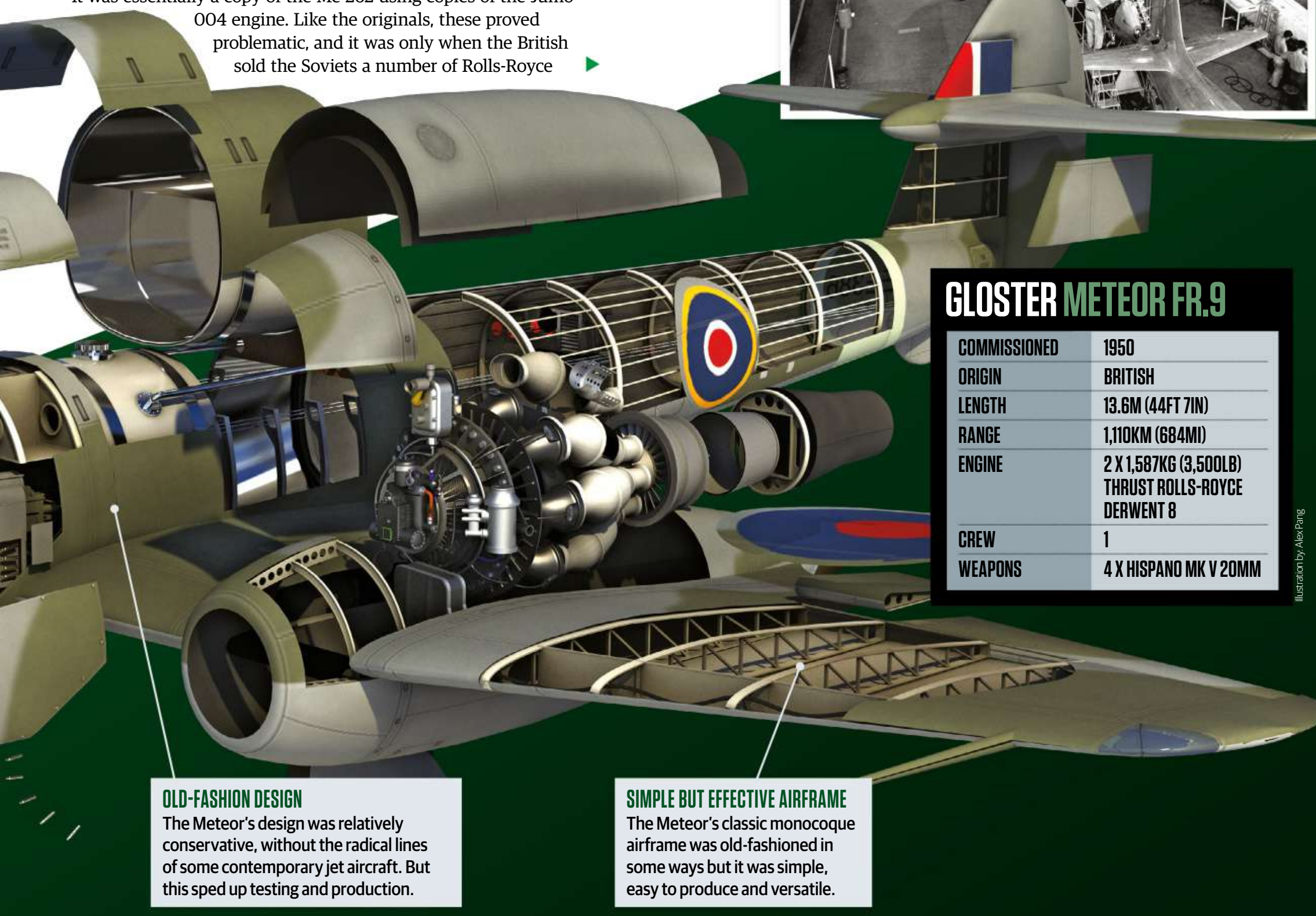

GLOSTER METEOR FR.9

COMMISSIONED	1950
ORIGIN	BRITISH
LENGTH	13.6M (44FT 7IN)
RANGE	1,110KM (684MI)
ENGINE	2 X 1,587KG (3,500LB) THRUST ROLLS-ROYCE DERWENT 8
CREW	1
WEAPONS	4 X HISPANO MK V 20MM

Illustration by: Alex Pang

OLD-FASHION DESIGN

The Meteor's design was relatively conservative, without the radical lines of some contemporary jet aircraft. But this sped up testing and production.

SIMPLE BUT EFFECTIVE AIRFRAME

The Meteor's classic monocoque airframe was old-fashioned in some ways but it was simple, easy to produce and versatile.

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

Nene engines in 1946 that the Soviet jet fighter programme really took off. Despite the promise not to use them for military purposes, the engines were immediately reverse engineered and built as the Klimov RD-45.

THE FIRST JET WAR

Designs were beginning to reflect the freedoms and new aerodynamics that jet engines brought, but only in gradual increments. It would take another war to show that a 'leap frog' in thinking was actually needed.

The Me 262 and the Meteor never met in combat, and it would be six years until jet fighters would fully come of age and face the ultimate test. When communist North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, the Western Allies (under the auspices of the United Nations) sent forces to their aid. This drew communist China and the Soviet Union in to support the North, and for the first time jet fighters would meet each other in combat.

The clash between the US F-86 Sabre and the Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-15 has come to dominate the popular imagination of the air war over Korea. Both were a short step forward from the Meteor and the Shooting Star (both of which also flew over Korea). They were fast enough to require swept wings and other design features to optimise their performance at high speeds, but were still distinctly first generation. They were also not the only fighter jets involved in the war. The UN countries also used other first generation jets as fighters or for ground attack, while both sides also still used piston-engined aircraft. In proof of the Allies' initial assessment of the jets – that they were only an incremental step forward – aircraft such as the F-51 Mustang, Hawker Sea Fury and Vought F4U Corsair dominated the UN fighter forces, and at times even managed to engage and shoot down MiG-15s.

However, it was the jet-vs-jet clashes that defined the air war, even if only because they provided the last valuable lessons that would secure jets as the fighter type of choice. Both sides entered the war with aircraft technology that was creeping further beyond the limits of piston engines, but utilised many of the same weapons, avionics and tactics. Dogfights between jets armed with cannons and machine-guns became the norm, but it also became clear that an engine and airframe were not all that was needed to make an effective jet fighter. Higher speeds also meant smaller engagement envelopes and briefer chances to actually shoot at the enemy. The standard weapons systems struggled to keep up; the MiG-15 initially used a direct copy of the RAF's Mk IID gunsight, as used during the Battle of Britain, while its heavy cannon had a ponderously slow rate of fire. The Sabre's gunsight, with a (temperamental) radar-linked system, was more effective but still limited. Aircraft could be as fast and manoeuvrable as they liked, but a fighter that cannot hit another aircraft is useless.

TOP-LEFT Test pilot Lawrence Clousing boards a Lockheed P-80

TOP-RIGHT American troops in Germany examine an abandoned Me 262, April 1945

ABOVE The North American F-86 Sabre was the peak of the first generation of jets. It had advanced aerodynamics but dated weaponry and avionics

The lessons of Korea were coupled with the incremental development that was leading to the first supersonic designs in America, Britain and the Soviet Union. Radar was needed to detect aircraft at the much greater distances needed to manoeuvre jets into position, and to assist in guiding gunfire. Better yet, the development of air-to-air guided missiles (as opposed to the air-to-air unguided rockets used in WWII) accelerated, as did the supporting avionics.

The technological 'leap frog' sought by the Germans in 1944 would finally happen in the mid-1950s. By the end of the decade the speed and potential of the jet fighter led to them becoming a clear class of their own, as the second generation of aircraft far surpassed piston-engined types. Designed and built as complete weapons systems, aircraft such as the English Electric Lightning, Lockheed 104 Starfighter and the Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21 would fly at twice the speed of sound, engage distant targets with guided missiles and obey completely new sets of aerodynamical laws. The age of the jet fighter had arrived.

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ROCKET WOMAN

KATHERINE JOHNSON

A look at the life of the incredible human computer who helped put man on the Moon in 1969

Written by Emily Staniforth

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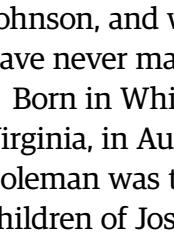
EXPERT BIO



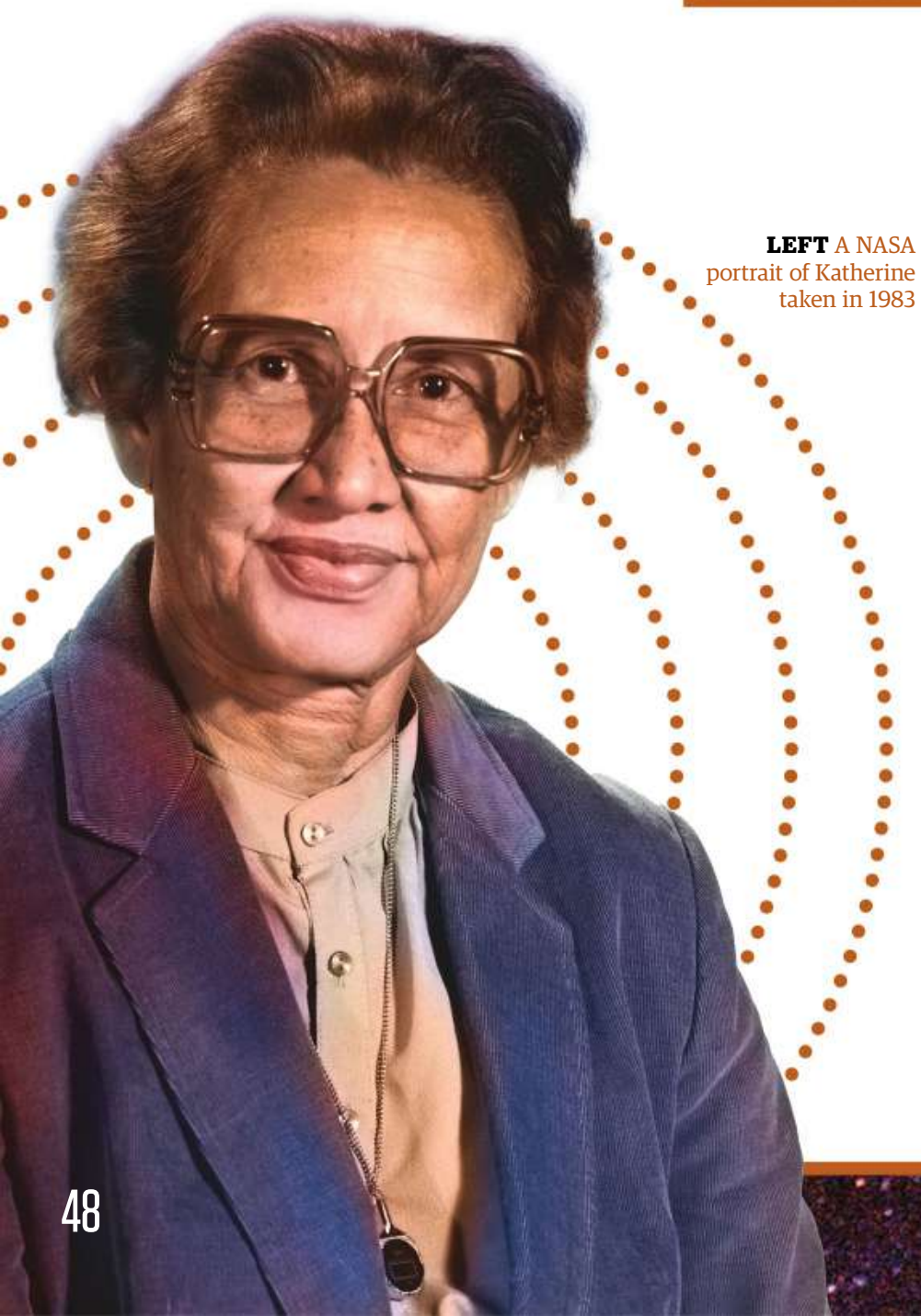
© Brian Odom

BRIAN ODOM

Brian is the acting chief historian at NASA and is responsible for conserving the agency's history. He is the co-editor of *NASA and the Long Civil Rights Movement* (University Press of Florida, 2019).

Behind some of the greatest achievements in space exploration by NASA from the late 1950s onwards was a group of mathematicians, the 'hidden figures', who made it all possible. Referred to as computers for their ability to calculate complicated mathematical equations, these women defied the social and political constraints of their gender to make vital contributions in getting man to space. One of those women made an immense impression on the history of NASA and space exploration, though her legacy had, until the release of an Oscar-nominated blockbuster, remained largely unknown. Her name was Katherine Johnson, and without her humanity may have never made it to the Moon.

Born in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, in August 1918, Creole Katherine Coleman was the youngest of the four children of Joshua and Joylette Coleman, a farmer and a teacher respectively.



LEFT A NASA portrait of Katherine taken in 1983

"KATHERINE BECAME THE FIRST BLACK WOMAN TO ENROL AT THE SCHOOL: HER FIRST OF MANY HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS"

Katherine was a bright child and, encouraged by her mother, pursued her academic interests from a young age. Displaying an affinity for numbers, her intelligence saw her skipping several grades and quickly running into a problem: White Sulphur Springs forbade African American children to be educated in public schools past the eighth grade. Katherine, having reached eighth grade by the age of 10 (eighth grade students are usually 13 to 14), no longer had access to schooling. Her parents decided to move the family 190km away to Institute, West Virginia, so Katherine and her siblings could attend a high school situated on the campus of West Virginia State College, an institution that catered specifically to Black students. Katherine graduated from school at the age of 14 and secured a place at West Virginia State College (which would later become West Virginia State University), which she began attending at the age of 15.

At university Katherine thrived under the tutelage of mathematician William Waldron Schieffelin Claytor and progressed through her studies at an extraordinary rate. When she completed all the courses in mathematics offered by the university, Claytor, only the third African American to get a PhD in mathematics, compiled special classes just for Katherine. It was Claytor who would convince her to pursue a career in mathematical research.

Graduating with the highest honours in a double major of mathematics and French in 1937 at the age of 18, Katherine took up a teaching position at a school in Marion, West Virginia, after she was unable to find a job as a researcher. In 1939 she married her first husband, James Francis Goble. However, married life did not put an end to Katherine's academic pursuits. In that year she quit teaching after being chosen to be one of the first Black students accepted onto a graduate programme at West Virginia University. The state had decided to desegregate its graduate schools and Katherine, alongside two Black men, was offered a place at the historically white

ABOVE
John Glenn entering Friendship 7 during Project Mercury

TOP-INSET
Katherine receives the Presidential Medal of Freedom from Barack Obama

BOTTOM-INSET
Katherine said she needed to be "assertive and aggressive" to beat discrimination

institution. She became the first Black woman to enrol at the school: her first of many historic achievements.

After only a year at West Virginia University, Katherine dropped out after becoming pregnant with her first child. She spent the next few years dedicated to her family, bringing up three daughters and returning to teaching when her children were older. However, Katherine's calling came in 1952 when she heard that the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) was hiring at its Langley laboratory in Hampton, Virginia.

At Langley, a group of women had first been hired as computers in 1935. They were tasked with working out complicated mathematical problems that would contribute to aeronautical advancement. "Before these big IBM mainframe computers came in [the NACA] really relied on human beings to do the math for calculating trajectories. Katherine really does play a role in that human computing lab," says NASA historian Brian Odom. Though the first computers at Langley were all white women, NACA started to employ African American women in 1940. It was at the West Area Computing section, a segregated department entirely made up of Black women, that Katherine began working in 1953 under the supervision of fellow computer Dorothy Vaughan.

Katherine was quickly assigned to the Flight Research Division, where she would spend the next four years analysing the data from flight tests and taking part in investigations into plane crashes caused by wake turbulence (the atmospheric disturbance that is formed behind an aircraft).

While doing this work, Katherine made sure that her voice was heard. Despite Langley still being subject to some discriminatory policies against African Americans, even though the NACA had technically been desegregated, she asked to be present at meetings concerning her work and challenged her superiors who didn't want her to attend. She also ignored the signs on the bathroom doors which assigned use of them to either Black or white members of staff, and refused to sit in a specific section of the Langley cafeteria allotted to the Black workforce. As a result of her persistence against racism and sexism at NACA Katherine became the first woman in the Flight Research Division to be named as an author on a research paper. "We needed to be assertive as women in those days – assertive and aggressive – and the degree to which we had to be that way depended on where you were. I had to be," Katherine said in 1999 of her time working for NACA and later NASA.

In 1956 Katherine lost her husband to an inoperable brain tumour. This was soon followed by a huge change in the trajectory of her career, when in 1957 the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik satellite. Not wanting to fall behind the scientific advancements of the Soviets, the US began to invest more heavily in space exploration. The National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 was passed by the US Congress to enact the foundation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). In October 1958, NACA turned over all of its operations to NASA, meaning Katherine now found herself at the heart of the space race.

Working for NASA would prove to be a more positive experience for Katherine and other African American employees who had previously worked for NACA. "Once NASA comes online in 1958 you

HIDDEN FIGURES

Who were the other computers at NASA?

DOROTHY VAUGHAN

MARY JACKSON

Hundreds of women worked at NASA in the computing department alongside Katherine Johnson. These qualified and highly skilled mathematicians and were hired as computers because the job had historically been seen as menial. However, they were paid more than they would have earned in other, 'conventional', female jobs. The computers were also well-respected by their male colleagues – astronauts, pilots and engineers needed complete trust in the computers to keep them safe in their dangerous missions. "It was an important contribution that was made and women were really key in that because beyond Katherine Johnson, Mary Jackson and Dorothy Vaughan, who we see in the film [*Hidden Figures*], there were hundreds of other women making these incredible contributions," says Odom.

Dorothy Vaughan was at the head of the West Area Computing Unit when Katherine was hired in 1953. She was the first Black supervisor at NACA and was highly respected throughout Langley. Despite discriminatory segregation policies that required African American computers to work separately from their white counterparts, Vaughan led her department to become one of the most distinguished at Langley.

Mary Jackson began working at the West Area Computing Unit in 1951 as a computer. Excelling alongside the engineer Kazimierz Czarnecki, she gained engineering experience that prompted her to retrain. She enrolled at the all-white Hampton High School, gaining special permission to attend, and completed the required courses. In 1958, she was promoted and became NASA's first Black female engineer.

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ABOVE
Katherine at the Oscars with the cast of *Hidden Figures*

LEFT
Apollo 11 launches from Cape Kennedy on 16 July 1969

BELOW
A NASA building was named in Katherine's honour

All images: © Alamy

see the build up of a lot of centres in the south," says Odom. "Today we think of Johnson Space Center in Houston; Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama; and the Kennedy Space Center in Florida – but there were other locations across the south too near New Orleans and South Mississippi... NASA is building a huge infrastructure from 1958 to 1963, as the build up for Apollo, in the Jim Crow segregated south.

"The federal government, from the very beginning of this process, is committed to equal employment opportunity and that's something that John F Kennedy, in March of 1961 with a new executive order, really makes a key part of this programme. Equal employment becomes a huge thing, and for the first time in that executive order we see that term 'affirmative action'. It's not just that you have to not discriminate, you also have to have a positive plan for affirmative action in which you demonstrate that you're taking the steps necessary to bring these jobs to African Americans."

When several of the engineers who had worked with Katherine at Langley formed the Space Task Group to begin work on sending Americans into space, she joined them. In 1959, she married her second husband, US Army Captain James A Johnson, and took his name.

In 1960, Katherine co-authored the report paper *Determination of Azimuth Angle at Burnout for Placing a Satellite Over a Selected Earth Position*, becoming the first woman from the Flight Research Division to be credited on such a document. A year later, Alan B Shepard became the second man and first American to travel to space, in the spacecraft Freedom 7 as part of Project Mercury. Katherine had been instrumental in calculating the trajectory of the successful flight. "The early [Project Mercury] trajectory was a parabola, and it was easy to predict where it would be at any point," she said. "When they said they wanted [Shepard's] capsule to come down at a certain place, they were trying to compute when it should start. I said: 'Let me do it. You tell me when you want it and where you want it to land, and I'll do it backwards and tell you when to take off.'"

By the time astronaut John Glenn was set to become the first American to orbit the Earth, in 1962, Katherine's reputation as a computer preceded her. The mission required precise planning to launch the spacecraft, travel around the Earth and return safely. IBM computers, which had come on leaps and bounds in the previous few years, had been used to calculate the trajectory and were relied upon to achieve the feat. However, Glenn was not happy to blindly trust the IBM computers with his life and requested that the numbers were checked by Katherine. He asked her to manually check the IBM's equations, saying (according to Katherine's recollection of the event): "If she says they're good then I'm ready to go."

The mission was a success and laid the foundations for even more daring launches. It was also the stepping stone for Katherine's greatest achievement. In 1969, she was part of the team who calculated the trajectory that saw Neil Armstrong become the first man on the Moon. Her talent and passion for mathematics ensured the safe landing on the Moon and return to Earth in the Apollo 11 mission.

Katherine remained at NASA for the rest of her career, authoring numerous reports and continuing to contribute to American space exploration. It was a job she loved, as she told Margot Lee Shetterly, the author who would immortalise her and other Black female Langley computers in her book *Hidden Figures*. Katherine retired in 1986, leaving behind a little-known but significant legacy.

> "GIRLS ARE CAPABLE OF DOING EVERYTHING MEN ARE CAPABLE OF DOING. SOMETIMES THEY HAVE MORE IMAGINATION THAN MEN"

In 2015 she received the highest civilian award in America: the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Of the decision to give her the honour, President Barack Obama said: "Katherine G Johnson refused to be limited by society's expectations of her gender and race while expanding the boundaries of humanity's reach." In 2016, both the book and film *Hidden Figures* were released, propelling Katherine and the African American NASA computers into the spotlight. Commenting on her newfound recognition, she said: "Girls are capable of doing everything men are capable of doing. Sometimes they have more imagination than men."

Katherine died at the age of 101 in 2020. Upon her passing, NASA described her as an "American hero" with a "pioneering legacy". Odom says of her work: "She played a huge role in NASA throughout her career and is someone we [NASA] really look back on fondly."

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN BRITAIN

Gruesome facts and gory details on the British history of public punishment from the Museum Of London Docklands

Written by Callum McKelvie

Public punishment has been intrinsic to our past. Capital punishment was a part of British history since the 5th century and the time of the early Anglo Saxons. Murderer Peter Allen was the last person in the UK to be executed, in 1964, and the following year the Murder Act suspended capital punishment for five years. This became a permanent move in 1969, but it wasn't until 1998 that the death penalty was abolished for treason and 'piracy with violence'.

London was the site of many executions and places of public punishment. The area of Tyburn was infamous for its gallows, as were Newgate and Tower Hill. Yet the history of punishment and execution in Britain is not as simple as just charting the various ways that criminals were executed. Crime and punishment has had a much greater impact on our culture than we might like to admit. There are numerous examples of executions that were sensationalised for profit, and the corpses of executed criminals were often sought-after by anatomists. And a number of high-profile executions, such as that of Charles I in 1649, changed the course of British history. The gallows were not always where the story ended.

Now a new book, *Executions: 700 Years of Public Punishment in London*, edited by Jackie Keily with contributions from Thomas Ardill, Beverley Cook and Meriel Jeater, charts the history of public punishment in the capital, accompanying a grisly new exhibition at the Museum of London Docklands. Here, in collaboration with Osprey Publishing, we present a selection of these fascinating stories – from the gruesome posthumous 'execution' of Oliver Cromwell in 1661 (three years after his death) to a cat, dressed as a priest, found, mysteriously, hung in the gallows in Cheapside, London in 1554.

The Haunting Tale of a Hanging and a Head

One of the most notorious examples of posthumous execution occurred 1661, following the restoration of the monarchy a year earlier. The new king, Charles II, decreed that Oliver Cromwell, along with General Henry Ireton and President of the High Court of Justice John Bradshaw, were to be disinterred from their graves, hung from the gallows in chains at Tyburn and beheaded. Following this bloodthirsty show the bodies were thrown into common graves, while the heads were placed on spikes at Westminster Hall. When a storm dislodged them Cromwell's was found by a soldier, and by 1710 it was appearing as an exhibit in a freak show. It was only in 1960 that the head was given a burial, in the grounds of Sidney Sussex College in Cambridgeshire.

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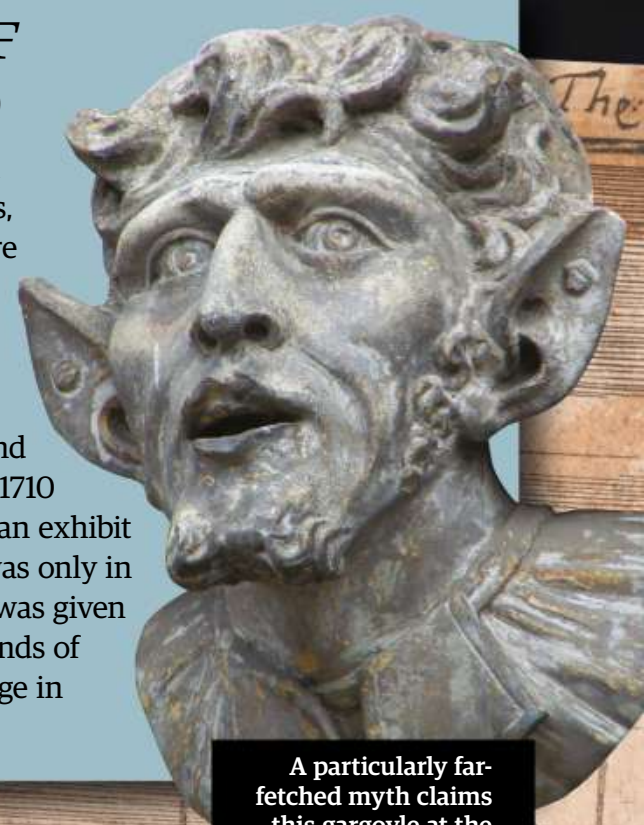

A particularly far-fetched myth claims this gargoyle at the Guildhall, Worcester, is the head of Cromwell

© Alamy

1. Cromwels haupt. 2. Bradshow. 3. Ireton.

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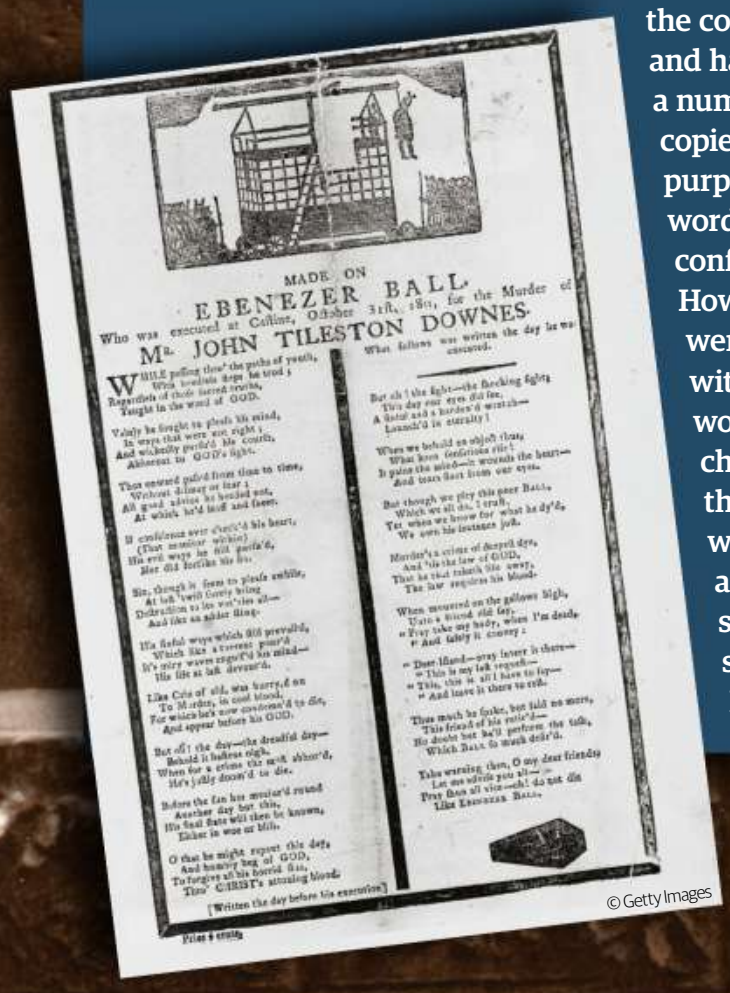
The Bewildering Story of the Broadsides

Sensationalising the gallows proved to be a lucrative business for many enterprising street hawkers. 'Patterers', as these sellers were known, offered cheaply produced printed sheets, known as 'street literature' or 'broadsides', that reported on executions. These were one-sheet reports of a particular convict's death along with their crime. The makers often employed cunning methods such as reusing the same gallows images and changing the amount of hanging figures to the number required. Sometimes these street sellers would recite the supposed last words of the condemned, and have for sale a number of written copies of these purported final words or bloody confessions. However, these were often copied with only the odd word or phrase changed. By the 1840s there was said to be around 100 street broadside sellers in London.



MADE ON

EBENEZER BALL,

Who was executed at Catline, October 31st, 1821, for the Murder of

MR. JOHN TILESTON DOWNES.

WHILE pulling thro' the paths of youth,
Regardless of those sacred truths,
Taught in the word of GOD.

Vainly he fought to plead his mind,
In ways that were not right;
And wickedly pursu'd his course,
Abhorrent to GOD's sight.

Thus onward guided from time to time,
Without dismay or fear;
All good advice he heeded not,
At which he'd scoff and sneer.

If conscience ever check'd his heart,
(That monitor within)
His evil ways he still pursu'd,
Nor did forsake his sin.

Sin, though it seem to please awhile,
At last 'twill Conscience bring
Distraction to his wretches all—
And like an adder sting.

His fateful ways which still prevail'd,
Which like a torrent pour'd
In wave upon wave rag'd his mind—
His life at last devour'd.

Like Cain of old, was hurry'd on
To Murder, in cool blood,
For which he's now condemn'd to die,
And appear before his GOD.

But oh! the day—the dreadful day—
Behold it hideous nigh,
When for a crime the most abhor'd,
He's justly doom'd to die.

Before the Sun his course'd round
Another day but this,
His final fate will then be known,
Either in woe or bliss.

O that he might repent this deed
And humbly beg of GOD,
To forgive all his horrid sins,
Thro' CHRIST's atoning blood.

[Written the day before his execution.]

But oh! the sight—the shocking sight,
This day our eyes did see,
A fatal and a hardened wretch—
Launch'd in eternity!

When we behold an object thus,
What keen tenderness stir!
It pains the mind—it wounds the heart—
And tears flow from our eyes.

But though we pity this poor Man,
Which we all do, I trust,
Yet when we know for what he dy'd,
We own his sentence just.

Murder's a crime of deepest dye,
And 'tis the law of GOD,
That he that sheds his own,
The law requires his blood.

When mounted on the gallows high,
Unto a friend did say,
"Pray take my body, when I'm dead,
"And safely it convey:

"Dear friend—pray leave it there—
"This is my last request—
"This, this is all I have to say—
"And leave it there to rest.

Thus much he spoke, but said no more,
This friend of his perform'd the task,
No doubt but he'd perform the task,
Which BALL so much desir'd.

Take warning then, O my dear friends
Let me advise you all—
Pray from all vice—oh! do not sin
Like EBENEZER BALL.

Price 1 penny

© Getty Images

Public hangings were some of the oldest and most widespread forms of execution

© Getty Images

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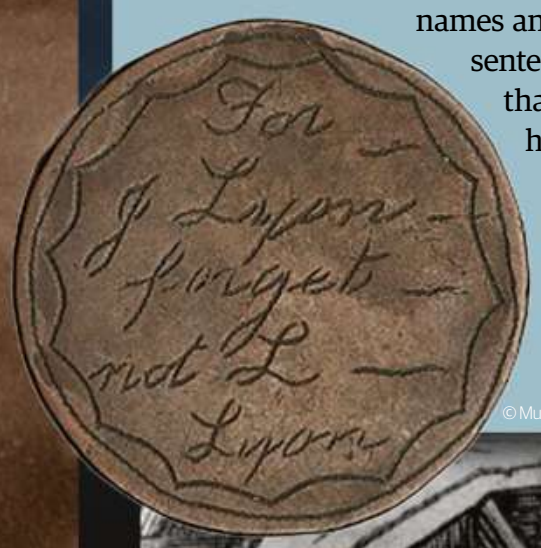
To Kill the King

This silk shirt was said to have been worn by King Charles I at his execution. Popular legend states that the king asked for a thick undershirt to be supplied so that the crowd would not mistake his shivering in the chilly winter's air for fear of the executioner's axe. The item was first presented to the Museum of London in 1924 or 1925, along with a note explaining the shirt was given to the physician who attended Charles in his final hours. The shirt is one of a number of items the museum holds from Charles' execution, including a pair of gloves, a sash, a handkerchief and fragments of a cloak. The mysterious stains on the undergarment have often been suspected to be Charles' blood, though tests done to determine this have proven inconclusive.

© Museum of London

Touching Tokens from Transported Convicts

From 1788 onwards, a common sentence imposed on many convicts was 'transportation' to Australia. Previously, between 1718 and 1775, some 52,000 convicts had been sent to America. However, the American War of Independence soon put an end to that and from 1775 to 1788 no transportations occurred. When Botany Bay in Australia was selected as a suitable location for a colony, the idea of sending prisoners there was born. When an individual discovered that they were going to be transported, many gifted tokens to their friends and loved ones. These were usually inscribed with their given sentence and a personal message or rhyme. As a result these tokens provide evidence regarding prisoners' names and individual sentences – evidence that might otherwise have been lost to history. Although a convict would be sentenced for a set amount of time, in reality they were there for life.



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Caged prisoners being transported from Britain to Australia

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The Curious Crime of Coin Clipping

© Museum of London

In medieval England, numerous offences could result in the death penalty. 'Coin clipping' was a practice that involved cutting small pieces from coins and then, once you had enough, either melting these into a bar and selling it to a goldsmith or using the clippings to make counterfeit coins. While this may sound like a relatively innocuous criminal enterprise, such was its impact on the economy that coin clipping was actually punishable by death. According *Executions*, clipping was a crime often attributed to London's Jewish population, though in reality more Christians were responsible. Some 269 Jewish people were convicted of the crime and put to death at Tower Hill between 1278 and 1279 compared to only 29 Christians. This is just one example of the many ways the Jewish population of medieval England faced discrimination and persecution.

The Perilous Role of Petitions

Shown here is the mayor of London for 1820-21, John Thomas Thorpe, holding a petition to reprieve some 17 convicts from the gallows. These petitions were often the only hope many individuals had of being saved from the hangman's noose. They would often have to be created in extreme haste due to the executions usually being held only a few days after the trial. Their success, more often than not, relied on how well-connected an individual was and the mood of the person requested for a character reference. According to *Executions*, the signature of an individual such as Thorpe would have carried a great deal of influence and a far greater chance of reprieve. One particularly tragic tale involved a mother who sought clemency for her 18-year-old son who'd been condemned to death. Illiterate, her petition consisted of a simple cross scribbled on a piece of paper. Needless to say, her son did not receive any mercy.

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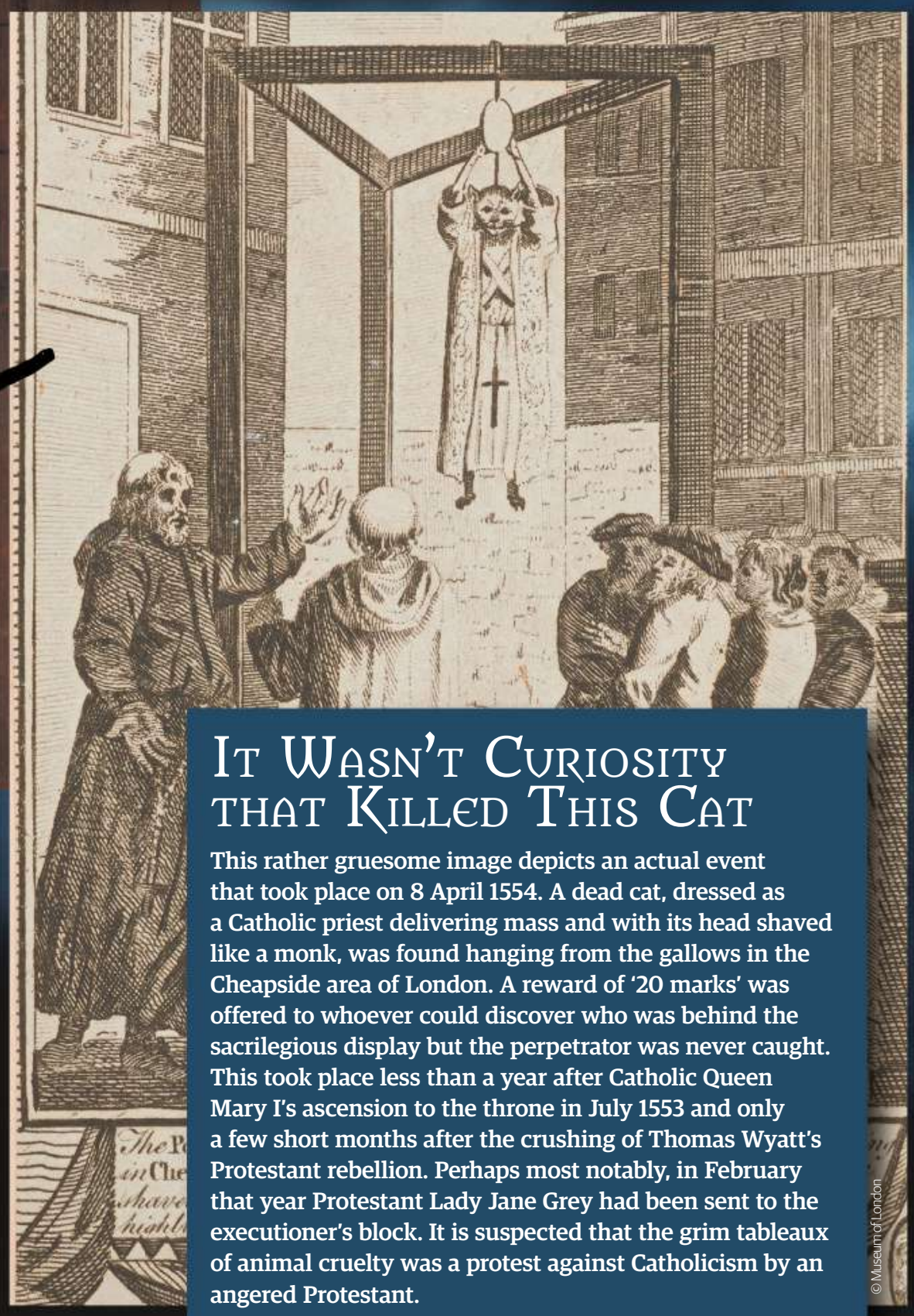

It Wasn't Curiosity that Killed This Cat

This rather gruesome image depicts an actual event that took place on 8 April 1554. A dead cat, dressed as a Catholic priest delivering mass and with its head shaved like a monk, was found hanging from the gallows in the Cheapside area of London. A reward of '20 marks' was offered to whoever could discover who was behind the sacrilegious display but the perpetrator was never caught. This took place less than a year after Catholic Queen Mary I's ascension to the throne in July 1553 and only a few short months after the crushing of Thomas Wyatt's Protestant rebellion. Perhaps most notably, in February that year Protestant Lady Jane Grey had been sent to the executioner's block. It is suspected that the grim tableaux of animal cruelty was a protest against Catholicism by an angered Protestant.

© Museum of London

No Rest for the Evil Dead

The Reward of Cruelty (below) from William Hogarth's series *The Four Stages of Cruelty* shows the fate that awaited the corpse of a murderer following the Murder Act of 1752. Under this law the cadavers of executed murderers were given to the Company of Surgeons in London for study and teaching. While this practice was useful for the advancement of science and our understanding of the human body, the law was also intended to act as a deterrent and a form of post-mortem punishment. These bodies would be taken to Surgeons' Hall, near the Old Bailey, for dissection in front of an audience. The skeletons of some murderers would also be placed on display in the hall once the dissection was complete. This came to an end in 1832 when the Anatomy Act regulated the supply of corpses for dissection in an effort to stop the lucrative yet illegal trade of body-snatching.

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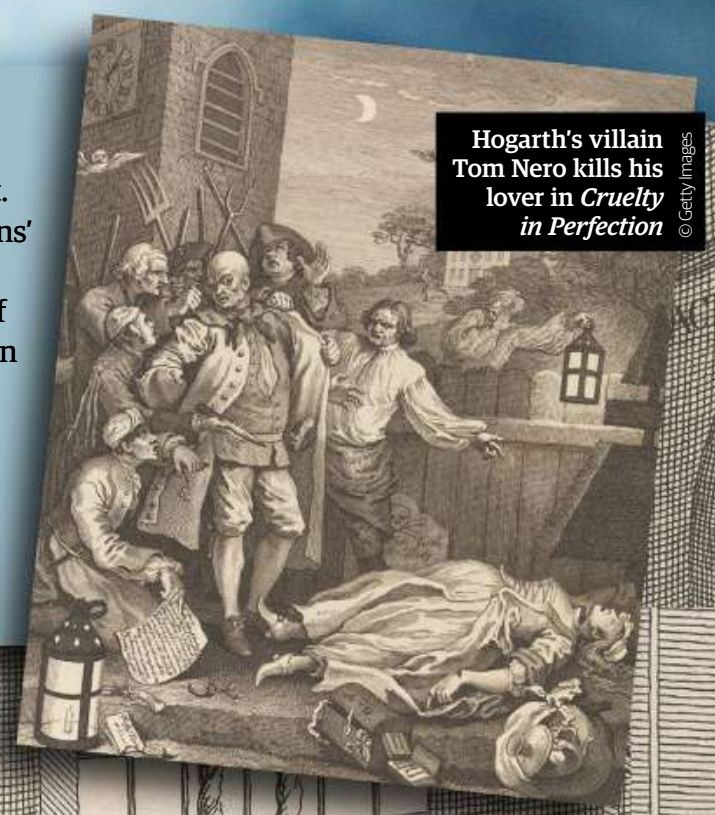

Hogarth's villain Tom Nero kills his lover in *Cruelty in Perfection*

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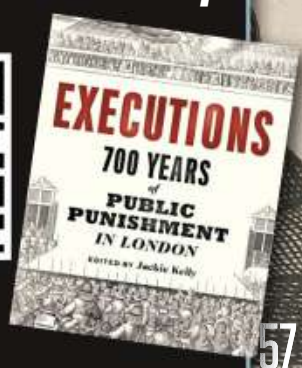


MERMAIDS AND SEA MYTHS

Where did the centuries-old tales of creatures from the deep and nautical nightmares originate?

Written by Callum McKelvie

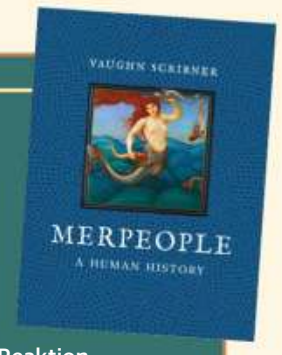
For thousands of years the planet's oceans have provided us with food and resources, and allowed explorers to travel to the farthest reaches of the Earth. But they also present vast unknown depths – according to Oceana, an organisation for the protection of the world's oceans, some 80 percent of the sea remains unexplored. So it's little wonder that throughout history many people have asked themselves, what is it that lies just beneath the surface? Doubtless it was these primal fears that led sailors to entertain each other with eerie tales of sea monsters, ghost ships and other mysterious things that lurked beneath the waves or just over the horizon. From the legendary demon of the deep Davy Jones to malicious mermaids who weren't so little, we dive into the origins of the myths and legends associated with the deep blue sea.

EXPERT BIO

© VaughnScribner

VAUGHN SCRIBNER

Vaughn Scribner is associate professor of British American History at the University of Central Arkansas and the author of *Merpeople: A Human History*, out now from Reaktion.



MERMAIDS

Some of the most famous sea creatures who continue to endure in popular culture are mermaids, supernatural entities with the top half of an adult human female and the tail of a fish. "They go way back," Vaughn Scribner, author of *Merpeople: A Human History* (Reaktion, 2020) tells us. "The Akkadians around 5000 BCE are worshipping basically gods that are half man, half fish. The Babylonians depict them as well." However, Scribner states, for a historian it is sometimes difficult to discern which ancient entities can be deemed to have influenced the development the mermaid myth, and which have not. "The Greeks have Scylla, but this is where things get murky," he explains. "She was described as a sea monster and not in a way that we would think of a mermaid." Similarly, other creatures often associated with mermaids do not seem to fit the criteria of half-woman half-fish creatures. "In Homer's *Odyssey*, there are the sirens," Scribner continues, "but they were flying creatures. They weren't in the ocean. How we get to our modern representation of mermaids is very, very murky."

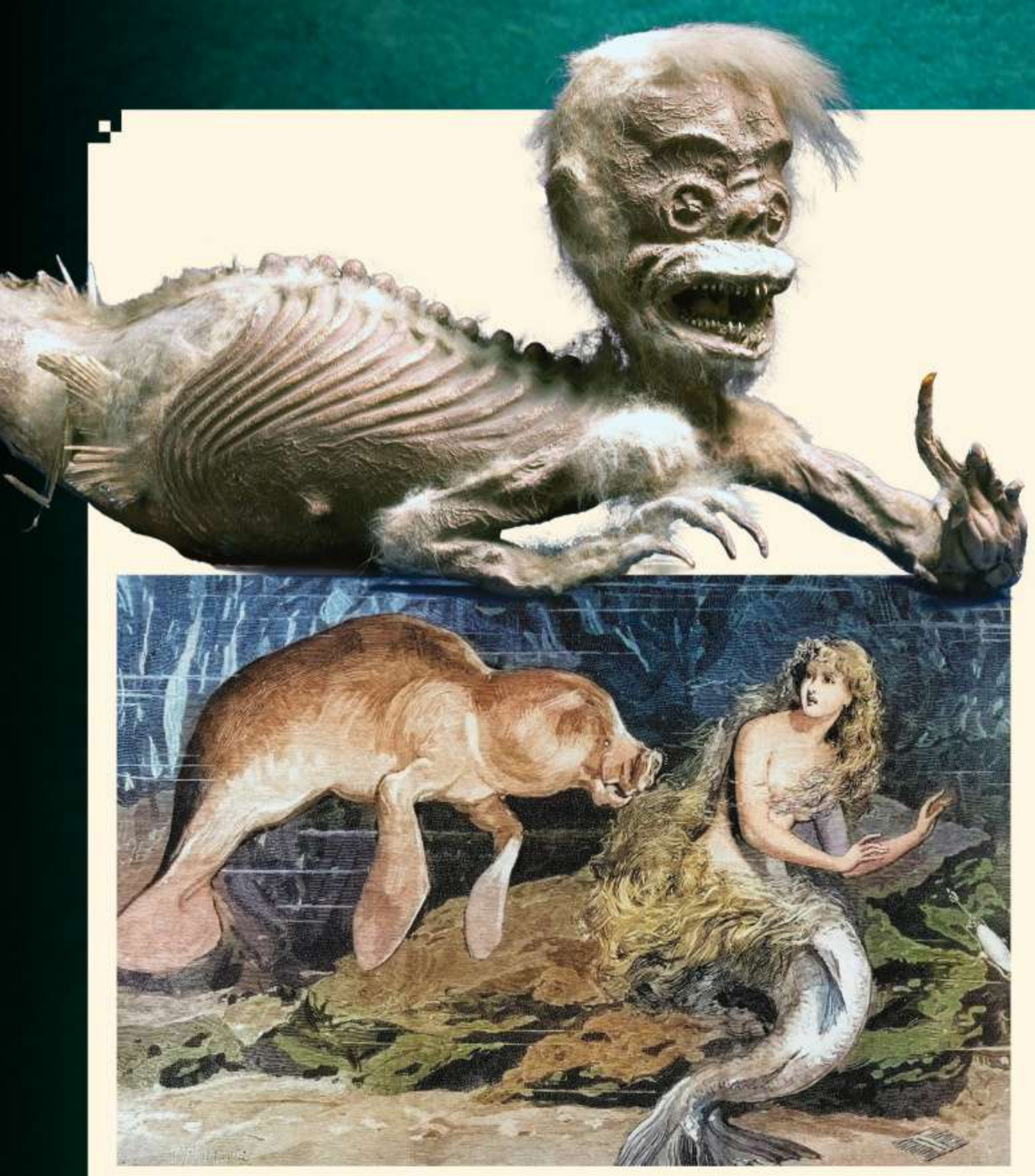
So where does the modern image of the mermaid come from? Surprisingly, it has its origins in early mediaeval Christianity. Many religious buildings such as churches and cathedrals contained stone or wooden carvings that depicted mermaids. While executives at Walt Disney may favour depicting mermaids as benign and friendly creatures, they were in fact once designed to be feared. "I argue that they basically used mermaids to denigrate the feminine," says Scribner. "They represent women as the dangerous facets of humanity that might lure men to their death or sexual dangers." By the 15th century, belief had evidently become prevalent as on 9 January 1493 Christopher Columbus claimed he saw three mermaids while sailing near what is now the Dominican Republic. Although some believers may argue we can never be sure, it is widely suspected that what he saw were in fact manatees.

> "They represent women as the dangerous facets of humanity that might lure men to their death"

Yet one curious thing about the mermaid is that representations of merpeople appear to be universal and

This English 13th century depiction of a mermaid shows the mythical creature lulling sailors to sleep

All images © Alamy, © Getty Images



TOP An example of one of the Japanese Ningyo figures, most likely from c.1850 – 1900 and possibly used in rituals

ABOVE Experts believe that many sightings of supposed mermaids were in fact manatees

exist (albeit with their own variations) across the globe. "I found representations of sea-people everywhere from the Cairo desert, South Africa, Indonesia, China and Japan," Scribner reveals. "But they're not all necessarily the Western idea of a mermaid. However, as the West begins to colonise these areas they bring with them their ideas of mermaids. So the question is did these cultures already have representations of mermaids as we understand them? And how much did European colonists assimilate them?"

Perhaps nothing illustrates Scribner's point clearer than when Europeans began trading with the Japanese and found strange mummified figures known as Ningyo, which they thought to be the bodies of real mermaids. Although the Ningyo are now very clearly associated with mermaids, traditional Japanese imagery and folk tales depicted creatures of a very different nature. Philip Hayward, who researches maritime cultures, says in his article *Japan: The Mermaidisation of the Ningyo and related Folkloric Figures* that one well-known depiction of a Ningyo "has a (horned) human head on a fish's body, whereas other early images have either monkey-like heads or fish-scaled humanoid faces on fish bodies".

During the Victorian period, these strange mummified figures that were believed to be actual mermaids were incredibly popular. American Captain Samuel Barrett Edes spent some $6,000 on a mermaid purportedly killed near Fiji. The 'mermaid' was later sold to US showman and politician Moses Kimball, and in 1842 the showman PT Barnum created a sensation when he borrowed the figure from Kimball and displayed it to the public, the monstrosity being exhibited in New York, Boston and London. Princess Arthur of Connaught donated another example to the British Museum, which still remains in its possession. The museum's online catalogue states that: "Such 'mermen' consist of the dried parts of monkeys, with fishtails, probably on wood cores."

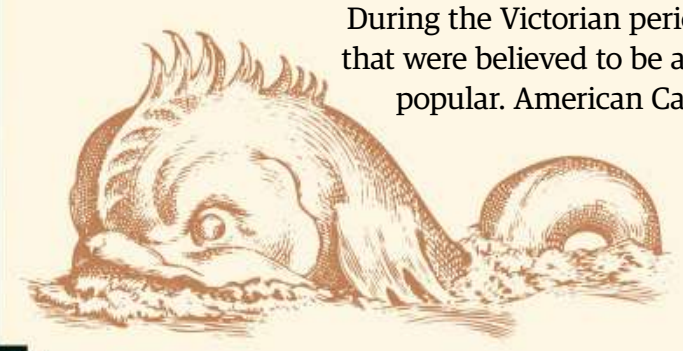
Yet these bizarre figures raise an interesting question. "At this time there is a theory that the farther reaches of the globe is where strange creatures such as mermaids exist," Scribner states. "So the question is were the Japanese already producing these? Or did they start producing them when the Europeans came? There are myths and ideas of sea people from a variety of different cultures, but how much did European interactions influence the way they depict them?"

GHOST SHIPS

Tales of ghosts have gripped the human imagination throughout history, on dry land and at sea. In particular, ghost ships are said to have haunted sailors for centuries and, similar to mermaids, appear in a variety of cultures all over the world. For example, in Chilote mythology (the mythology of the Chiloé Archipelago in Chile) there's the story of the Caleuche. This fearsome vessel drives anyone who stares at it insane and was said to be crewed by evil sorcerers. In 18th century England one of the more notable tales is that of the Lady Lovibond, a ship purportedly wrecked on Goodwin Sands off the Kent coastline by its love-scorned first mate. The Lovibond's ghostly outline is said to have been seen for centuries after. And one of the most unique tales is that of the Chasse-Galerie, from French-Canada, a story of lumberjacks cursed by the Devil to fly their bewitched canoe and haunt the skies above the Gatineau River.

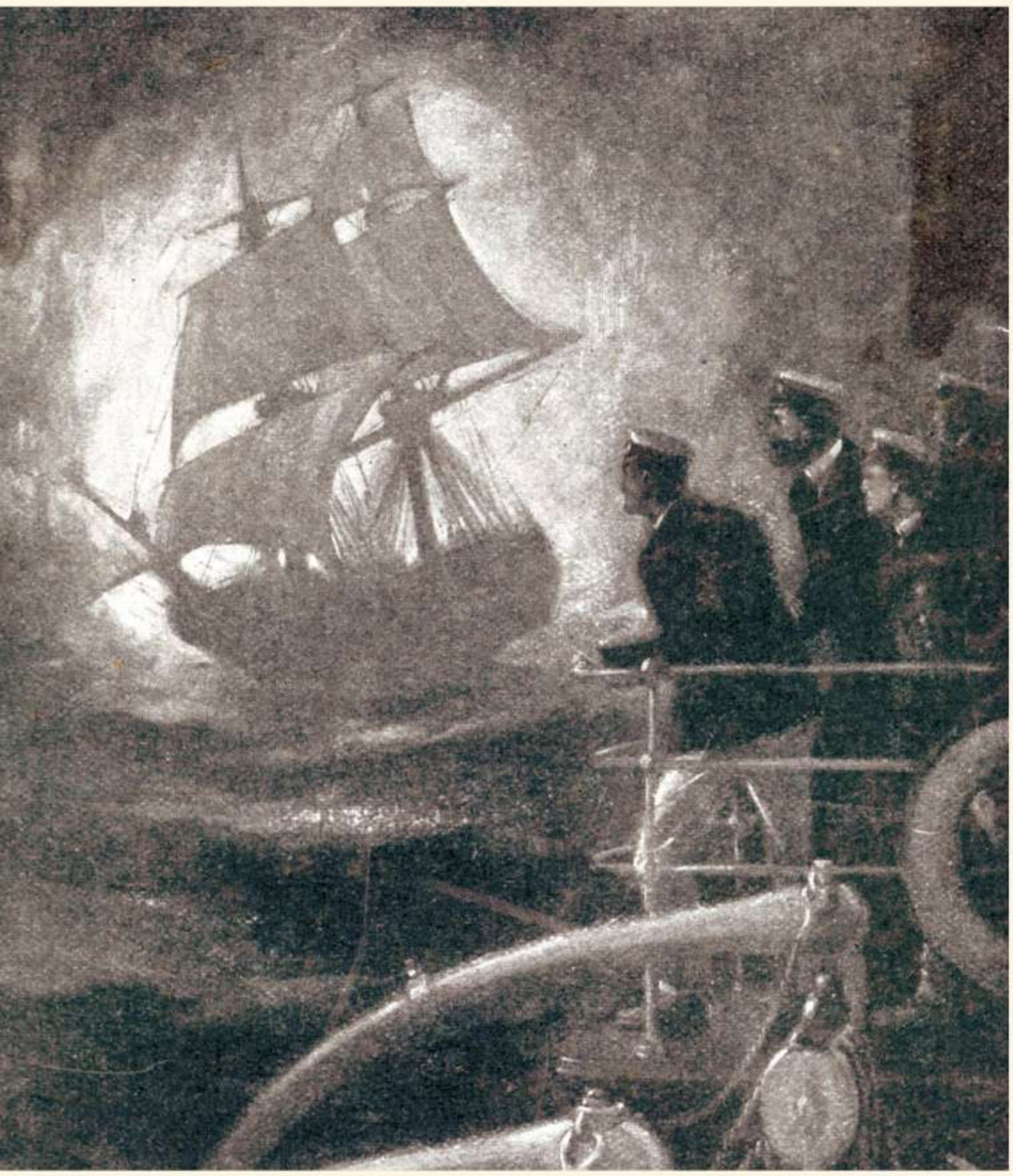
Perhaps the most legendary ghost ship of all is the Flying Dutchman, a vessel doomed to an eternal voyage as the result of a diabolical pact. The most well-known version of the story states that, while sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, the captain and his crew became caught in a particularly bad storm. In order to save their lives the captain, often named as either Hendrick or Willem van der Decken, conjured up Satan. Although they were saved from the storm they were cursed to never again set foot upon land and instead sail around the cape for eternity.

> "The ship was doomed to an eternal voyage thanks to a pact with Satan"



Many a seaman claimed to have spotted the Flying Dutchman in the waters of the cape. In the expanded 1837 edition of his *History of British Colonies*, Anglo-Irish author Robert Montgomery Martin says: "The Dutchman is said to appear generally to ships in a heavy gale with all sail set." It wasn't just sailors who said they had laid eyes on the phantom vessel – even royalty claimed to have seen it. On 11 July 1881 future King George V and Prince Albert Victor said they were witness to one of the ship's ghostly visitations, reporting that: "A strange red light as of a phantom ship all aglow, in the midst of which light the masts, spars, and sails of a brig 200 yards distant stood out."

The origins of the Flying Dutchman tale are difficult to pinpoint. There are no records of a real Van Der Decken but one name sometimes linked to the story is that of Bernard Fokke, an infamous mid-17th century sea captain known for the speed in which he undertook his journeys. He was once said to have travelled between Holland and the island of Java, a distance of about 12,000km, in a just three months. Rumours abounded that Fokke had entered into a diabolical pact because not only was he able to travel at incredible speeds, but he was also able to easily navigate the notoriously treacherous waters around the Cape of Good Hope. How much Fokke can be linked directly to the Flying Dutchman is a matter of dispute, though some of the similarities are obvious. Whatever its origins, the Flying Dutchman remains perhaps the most enduring tale of a ghost ship.



BELOW-LEFT
A 1906 depiction of the Chasse-Galerie, a French-Canadian folk tale of a ghostly flying canoe

BELOW-RIGHT
Prince George and Prince Albert Victor claimed they encountered the ghostly Flying Dutchman in 1881

FISHMAN OF LIÉRGANES

In 17th century Spain, off the coast of Cádiz, a young man said to be part-human and part-fish was found swimming in the bay...

Born in 1676, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo was a Benedictine monk known for his Enlightenment writing and scepticism towards belief in the supernatural. It is perhaps strange, then, that among his work is a truly bizarre tale that the usually sceptical Feijóo insisted was true.

One day, fishermen in the Bay of Cádiz found a strange young man tangled in their nets. He was said to have scales across his chest and backbone, as well as incredibly pale skin. He could talk exceedingly little but did one day blurt out the name of the town of Liérganes. When taken there the young man walked towards the house of Maria Del Casar and was recognised as her missing son Francisco. Despite being welcomed into her home, the young man was unable to settle down. He walked around naked and barefoot, struggled to communicate and would go for days without food. After living with the Del Casars for nine years, legend states that he vanished back into the ocean.

In the 20th century, Spanish physician Dr Gregorio Marañón became interested in the story and argued that, while large elements of the story were undoubtedly false, such an event may have occurred. Marañón theorised that the 'fishman' was most likely an individual suffering from a condition known as congenital iodine deficiency syndrome.

Nonetheless, Feijóo's evocative storytelling has ensured that the strange creature has remained a popular part of Spanish folklore. On the river in Liérganes there can be found a sculpture of the fishman, ensuring that the story lives on.

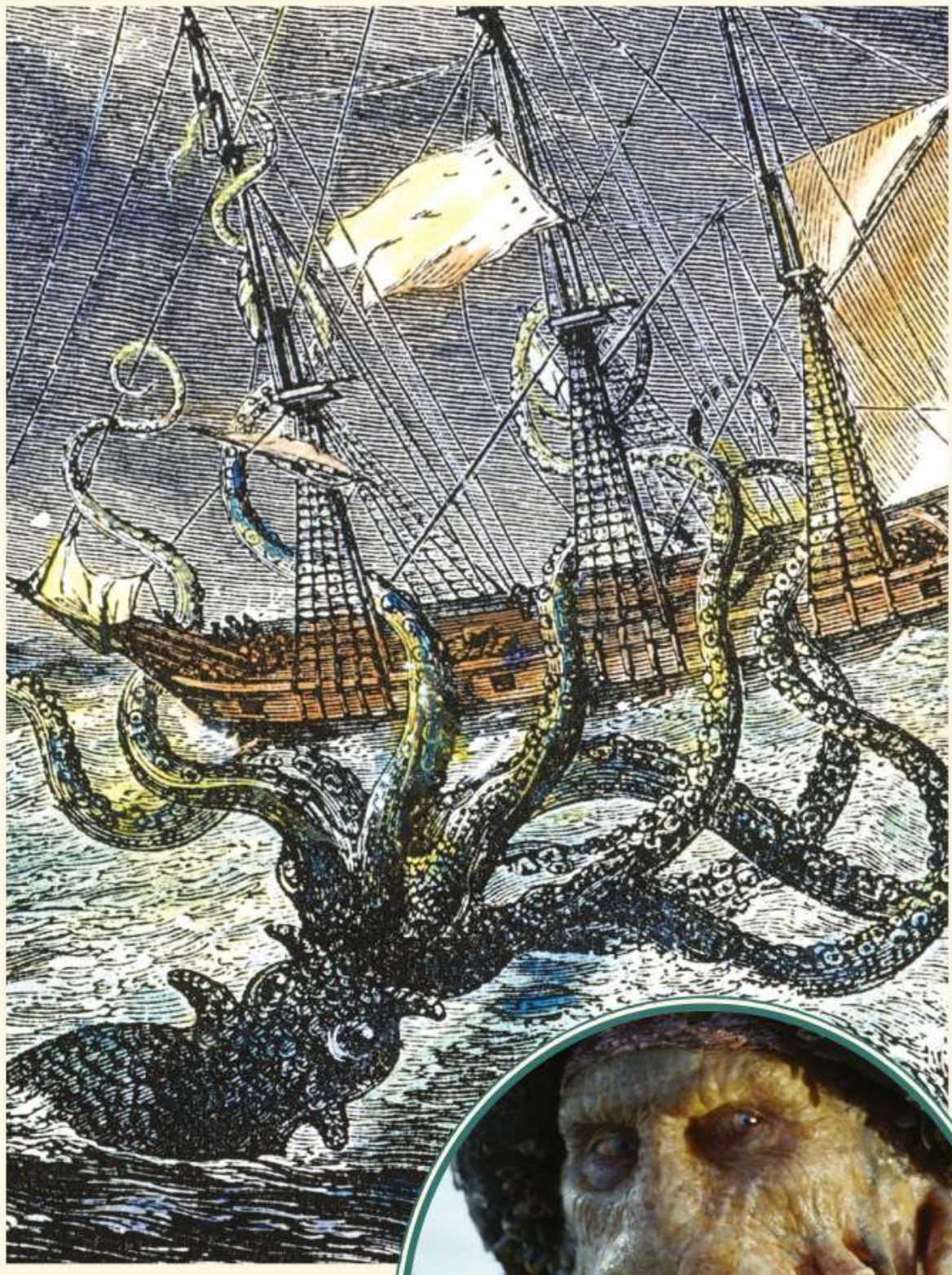
All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

DAVY JONES

Though it may surprise readers who are fans of the *Pirates of the Caribbean* series of films, there is actually little history attached to the legend of Davy Jones and his 'locker'. The figure is instead perhaps best described as a form of sailors' slang for the Devil. The name Jones is suspected to have its origins with the biblical Jonah. Famous for the story that he spent three days in the belly of a whale, Jonah is a name that sailors often associate with bad luck and God's anger, with Jonah causing himself and his shipmates to be beset by a terrible storm. Author Malcolm Archibald, in *Sixpence for the Wind: A Knot of Nautical Folklore*, claims that the 'Davy' part of the name "might come from the Caribbean term 'Duppy' for Devil".

However, while this is perhaps the most likely origin, there are other stories associated with this enigmatic figure. One tale concerns a sailors' song from 1594 entitled *When Jones' Ale is Newe*. In the song, David Jones is a publican who has a locker of particularly fine ales that he gives out freely to sailors when in port. However, more sinister tales state that David Jones was in fact a serial murderer. Once the sailors were drunk, he threw them into his locker, before disposing of their bodies at sea.

The term Davy Jones' Locker was first used by Daniel Defoe in his 1726 *The Four Years Voyages of Captain George Roberts* as a metaphor for the sea. However, in Tobias Smollett's 1751 book *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, a 'picaresque' story of its titular anti-hero's wrong-doings, Jones himself appears. Here he is described as having "saucer eyes" as well as "three rows of teeth, his horn and tail, and the blue smoke that came out of his nostrils". Smollett explains that, according to sailors, Davy Jones is a "fiend that presides over all the evil spirits of the deep, and is often seen in various shapes, perching among the rigging on the eve of hurricanes, shipwrecks, and other disasters". The Jones in Smollett's tale is nothing but the work of a group of pranksters, but George Cruikshank's evocative illustration of the sequence is suitably terrifying and memorable. Despite his enigmatic origins and lack of a mythology, Jones nonetheless remains a popular piece of nautical folklore.



THE KRAKEN

This monstrous giant cephalopod originates in Scandinavian folklore, where monsters were a common theme. According to Rodrigo B Salvador and Barbara M Tomotani in their paper *The Kraken: When Myth Encounters Science,* one early manuscript, by King Sverre of Norway roughly dated 1180, states that the Kraken was just one among a multitude of sea monsters. However, the Kraken was perhaps the most notable due to its immense size, being as large as an island and therefore able to easily sink ships. The 13th century text, *Saga of Örvar-Oddr*, introduced the Hafgufa and Lyngbakr – aquatic monsters of a similar size whose individual traits were merged with the evolving mythology of the Kraken. "Their features only reflected the fears of the first navigators, and the Kraken proved to be the strongest figure in their folklore, dragging every other sea monster under its shadow," Salvador and Tomotani inform us.

Throughout the centuries, tales of the Kraken flourished. In the 18th and 19th centuries records show that a number of vessels claimed to have encountered the creature. In 1861, the crew of the French warship The Alecton said they saw a vast tentacled creature near the Canary islands. "It seems to measure 15 to 18 feet up to its head, in the shape of a parrot's beak, surrounded by eight arms five to six feet long," recorded the captain. The crew attempted to capture the monster and engaged in a three-hour battle until finally they had it in a rope net and attempted to haul it on board. During this struggle the rope snapped and the creature managed to escape, the only evidence of the encounter being its tail tip caught in the rope. Yet how is it possible that a French warship encountered a mythical creature? Now it is widely suspected that the various accounts of the Kraken were in fact rare sightings of the enigmatic giant squid; Architeuthis dux, the largest known type of squid, is capable of growing to around 14 metres long.

"More sinister tales state that David Jones was in fact a serial murderer"

ABOVE Edgar Etherington's evocative wood engraving of the Kraken for John Gibson's 19th century work *Monsters of the Sea*

ABOVE-INSET The mythical Davy Jones appears in the *Pirates of the Caribbean* films

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Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF KULIKOVO

RUSSIAN PRINCIPALITY OF RYAZAN, 8 SEPTEMBER 1380

Written by William E Welsh

The fog hung thick over the waters of the Don River on the morning of 8 September 1380. Long columns of Russian soldiers filed through a ford on the Don just below where the Nepravda River fed into it. They tramped a mile past the ford and deployed for battle opposite the waiting Mongol army of the Golden Horde.

The leader of the Russian host, Grand Prince Dimitri of Moscow, addressed his men, urging them to fight for their Orthodox faith. Then, out of the view of his troops, he discreetly exchanged suits of armour with a young Muscovite aristocrat, Mikhail Brenok. Brenok would take the grand prince's place at the centre of the army beneath the banners of the Virgin Mary, St George and St Andrew.

Dimitri did this because he knew that his Mongol adversaries on the battlefield would seek to kill him

Russian armoured cavalry and Mongol lancers charged and counter-charged for nearly two hours

© Alamy

as quickly as possible. If the Mongols could cut down the charismatic leader of the Russian army, it was likely his men would panic and flee.

For that reason, the 30-year-old grand prince decided it was better to fight in the centre of the army as a nondescript nobleman rather than risk death at the outset of the battle. Accompanied by mounted aides to carry messages to his captains, he took up a position not too far from where Brenok was located under the grand prince's banner.

GOLDEN HORDE RIVALRY

Batu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, had undertaken a two-year conquest of Kievan Rus that ended in 1240. This had begun what would be nearly two-and-a-half centuries of Mongol overlordship over the divided Russian principalities in Eastern Europe. Batu Khan founded the Khanate of the Golden Horde, the westernmost of the four appanages given to Genghis Khan's four eldest sons upon his death.

The Mongols allowed the Russians a degree of self-government, but as overlords they collected tribute on a regular basis. In addition, they could compel their Russian vassals at any time to provide troops for Mongol military campaigns.

The Golden Horde actually consisted of two parts, known as wings. Batu ruled the western wing known as the Blue Horde, while his brother, Orda Khan, controlled the eastern wing known as the White Horde. To round out their armies, the Mongols recruited and integrated Turkic warriors into their armies. The Russians called the Turkic-Mongol warriors Tatars.

In the second half of the 14th century the Russian principalities slowly began to recover from the Mongol invasion while the Golden Horde began to decline, in part because of internal instability. Only those who were directly descended from Genghis Khan could become Mongol khans. The Mongol warlord Mamai, who took control of the Blue Horde in 1367, did so under a succession of puppet khans. His rule was challenged by the rise of Tokhtamysh, who seized the throne of the White Horde in 1378, just two years before the clash at Kulikovo. In a bid to unite the two hordes, Tokhtamysh captured Sarai. Owing to the loss of Sarai, Mamai's position became increasingly weak. In preparation for war against Tokhtamysh, Mamai squeezed as much tribute as possible from his Russian vassals to fund his war with Tokhtamysh.

THE RISE OF MOSCOW

The town of Moscow was founded in the mid-12th century as a military outpost in the Principality of Vladimir. It steadily grew in importance to the point that it became the seat of a new principality in 1263. When Prince Ivan II of Moscow died at an early age in 1359, his nine-year-old son Dimitri Ivanovich took the throne as prince of the principalities of both Vladimir and Moscow. Because of his young age, Metropolitan Alexius of Moscow served as his regent and tutor.

When he began to assume a few of his princely duties three years later, he requested that Mamai take the title of grand prince away from Prince Dimitri Konstantinovich of Suzdal and give it to him. Dimitri knew that having the title would ultimately bring him glory, honour and even greater wealth. He eventually secured the coveted title, and as Dimitri matured he revealed himself to be a hard-nosed leader and skilled diplomat.

FULL MOBILISATION

When Grand Prince Dimitri did not pay his tribute to Mamai in a timely manner in 1378, the Mongol emir dispatched one of his generals, Murza Begich, to conduct a punitive raid on Moscow. Dimitri defeated the raiders at Vozha River 160km south of Moscow. Mamai initially overlooked the defeat since Dimitri continued to pay his tribute. But when Mamai significantly increased the rate at which he taxed the principalities of Russia in early 1380, Dimitri lacked the financial resources to pay.

When the Muscovites failed to make any appreciable payment after several months, the Mongol emir issued an order in June mobilising the forces of the Blue Horde. Because he expected Dimitri to request the assistance of his fellow Russian princes in defeating the Mongols, Mamai asked Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania for military support. Jogaila was eager to see Moscow humbled as its expansion threatened Lithuanian territory.

The core of Dimitri's army was heavy cavalry. Rounding out the army were detachments of peasant militia, municipal guards and independent war bands that fought on foot. Dimitri's second-in-command was Dimitri Bobrok-Volinsky, who served as the grand prince's chief of staff. Yet another one of his most trusted subordinate commanders was his 27-year-old cousin Prince Vladimir Andreyevich 'The Bold' of Serpukhov.

Although perhaps apocryphal, a duel of champions was fought by Russian monk Alexander Peresvet and Golden Horde champion Chelubey minutes before the battle began

MONGOL LUST FOR TREASURE

It took time for the 45-year-old leader of the Blue Horde to assemble his forces. Mamai planned to rendezvous with the Lithuanians at Kulikovo Field. The Mongol army arrived there on 2 September. The core of the Mongol army was its light and heavy Tatar cavalry, but it also had Genoese and Armenian foot soldiers, many of whom were, respectively, crossbowmen and archers.

The Russian forces, responding to Dimitri's call to arms, had assembled in mid-August at Kolomna, a town 110km south of Moscow. After allowing additional time for those arriving from far-flung cities and towns to join the Muscovite army, Dimitri led his troops south to the Don River, where they encamped on the north side on 6 September.

RUSSIAN COUNCIL OF WAR

Dimitri knew the Lithuanians intended to reinforce Mamai's Mongol army because a Lithuanian-born boyar in the service of Moscow named Semyon Melik had learned of the development through his contacts in Lithuania. The grand prince of Moscow was eager to attack the Mongols before the Lithuanians reinforced them.

At the council of war, held 7 September, Dimitri's captains were divided on strategy. Some agreed with Dimitri's proposal to attack immediately, while others wanted him to remain in a defensive position on the north side of the Don. Dimitri believed he had enough support to launch an attack, so he proceeded with his original battle plan.

The Russian sentry regiment, followed by the advanced guard regiment under the command of Mikula Velyaminov, crossed the Tatinki Ford that night and secured a foothold for the army on the south bank of the Don. Dimitri anchored the flanks of his army on difficult terrain to prevent the swift Mongol horse archers encircling them. He anchored the right flank in woods that led to the Nepravda River, and secured his left flank on the forested headwaters of the narrow River Smolka.

CALL TO BATTLE

Unbeknown to Mamai, the Lithuanians were at that moment 40km away and approaching the headwaters of the Nepravda. But Mamai would have to fight without them. As the fog that covered Kulikovo Field gradually lifted on 8 September, the warriors of the opposing armies caught their first glimpse of each other. Mamai scanned the enemy host from his command post atop the flat-surfaced Red Hill behind his army's right wing.

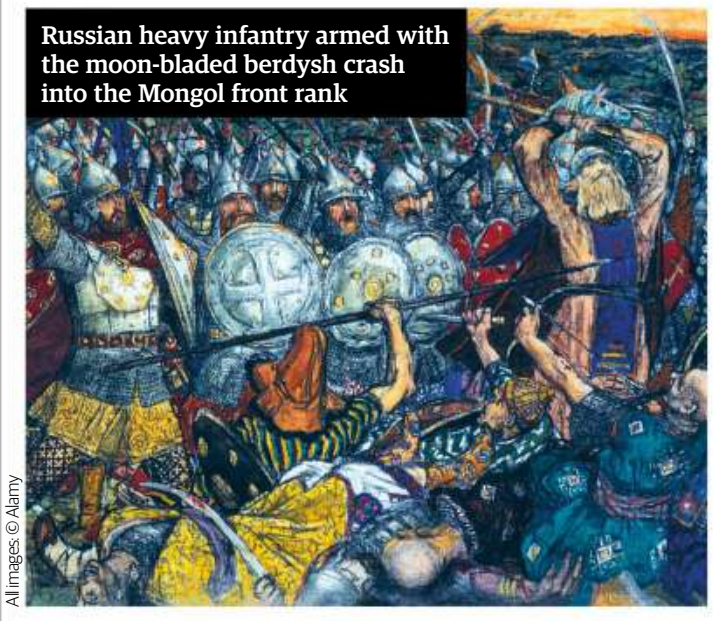
In the late morning a renowned warrior of the Golden Horde, Chelubey, rode forth and shouted a challenge for one of the Russian warriors to fight a duel with him. Although the account may have been apocryphal, such duels were regularly fought before pitched battles in Medieval Europe. Dimitri called for a volunteer, and Russian monk Alexander Peresvet rode forward to represent the Christian host. The two men clashed with lances, and both supposedly suffered terrible wounds and died.

The Russians had adopted the Mongol formation for battle. Both armies organised their troops into five regiments. Each had a sentry regiment, advanced regiment, main regiment, and left-hand and right-hand regiments. In addition, both sides typically had a small reserve. Dimitri decided to establish a concealed ambush unit, rather than a visible reserve. The ambush unit would deploy in a hidden position with orders to strike the enemy during the climax of the battle.

Dimitri formed the Russian army into two lines: spear-wielding infantry stood in the first line, the heavy cavalry deployed behind them in the second line. The second line was much longer than the first because it included the left-hand and right-hand regiments. Dimitri expected the mounted regiments guarding his flanks to prevent Mongol light cavalry from encircling the Russian army.

Dimitri gave command of the ambush regiment to Prince Vladimir Andreyevich and ordered his cousin to hide his troops in an oak forest behind the Smolka River. The grand prince gave his second-in-command, Dimitri Bobrok-Volinsky, the responsibility for determining the opportune time for the regiment to spring the trap.

The Mongol army deployed opposite the Russians in three lines. The first line consisted of



Russian heavy infantry armed with the moon-bladed berdysh crash into the Mongol front rank

Grand Prince Dimitri Ivanovich of Moscow receives the blessing of cleric Sergius of Radonezh before the battle

All images © Alamy

Genoese infantry in the middle and heavy cavalry on the wings. The second line, which included the Regiment of the East and Regiment of the West, posted on the flanks and consisted entirely of light cavalry. The reserve in the third line consisted of Mongol horse archers and a multi-ethnic group of foot soldiers made up of Circassian spearmen and Armenian bowmen.

The Mongol horse archers, who shunned armour because it weighed down their horses, charged and retreated in battle. The Mongol heavy cavalry wore mail or lamellar armour. They fought by charging their enemy with levelled lances, but resorted to their maces after they broke their lances.

Mamai's plan for the battle was to outflank the Russians to the east, but first his troops had to push the Russians north beyond the Smolka River to clear an avenue to the east for his horse archers to get behind them.

MONGOLS ATTACK

The Mongol and Genoese infantry in the centre of the Mongol line advanced first with the intention of driving the Russian infantry beyond the headwaters of the Smolka River upon which Dimitri had anchored the Russian left flank. As they advanced, Genoese crossbowmen and Armenian archers loosed their deadly bolts and arrows to soften up the enemy's front rank.

When the longer line of Russian infantry threatened to envelop his foot soldiers, Mamai ordered the heavy cavalry stationed on each wing of the front rank to charge the Russian foot. Russian spearmen dropped to one knee behind their kite shields and angled their spears to ward off the Mongol lancers. Next, Mamai ordered his flank regiments to assail the enemy flanks. Although the Russian right regiment succeeded in checking the advance of the Mongol Regiment of the West, the commander of the Russian left regiment did not engage the Mongol Regiment of the East for fear of exposing the entire Russian left flank. Because of this, the combination of Mongol lancers and horse archers overpowered the Russian foot on the left side and compelled them to retreat behind the Russian cavalry. This first phase of the battle had lasted just 30 minutes.

CLASH OF OPPOSING CAVALRY

After just a few exchanges, the Mongol-Genoese infantry suffered heavy losses. The survivors retreated south; as they did so, Mongol horse archers from the second line rode forward to replace them. Once reinforced, the Mongol cavalry engaged the Russian cavalry, and the two sides became locked in deadly combat. Those mortally or badly wounded who were knocked from their saddles were trampled in the mud and blood.

Dimitri fought with great fury in the middle of the cavalry and suffered several wounds as a result, but his presence boosted the morale of his troops. When it appeared that the Russian left flank was about to give way, 22-year-old Prince

MUSCOVITE ARMY

DIMITRI DONSKOY

The Prince of Moscow commanded the principalities of Rus that had united against the Mongol invasion. Victory at Kulikovo earned him the nickname Dimitri Donskoy, since it took place on the Don River. But he swore allegiance to the new Khan once Mamai was deposed. He was made a saint by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1988.

VLADIMIR THE BOLD

Vladimir Andreyevich was the cousin of Dimitri and prince of Serpukhov who fought in a number of battles prior to Kulikovo alongside his kin. He was in charge of the cavalry in this battle against the forces of the Golden Horde, which proved to be a pivotal contribution. He defended Moscow in his final campaign against Edigu in 1408.

MONGOL GOLDEN HORDE

MAMAI

While Mamai was a powerful and influential military commander, he was not a khan, but since he rose to prominence in a time of great upheaval for the Golden Horde, he wielded more power than most of his rank. He was known as a king maker, but defeat at Kulikovo saw a decline in his influence.

WLADYSLAW II JOGAILA

The Grand Duke of Lithuania (and later the King of Poland) had allied with Mamai against Moscow. However, when the Battle at Kulikovo came about, Jogaila failed to send his troops in to support the Mongol forces, instead holding position close to the battle but not engaging.

TOKHTAMYSH

While Mamai was looking to increase his influence and enforce the control of the Golden Horde in the west, Tokhtamysh was growing in power in the east. Following Mamai's defeat at Kulikovo, Tokhtamysh solidified his rule and united the fractured Mongol Empire under his leadership.

Gleb Dmitrievich of Bryansk gathered his retainers about him and launched a headlong charge through a section of the field littered with fallen troops to assail the Mongol right flank. Although he died in a hail of arrows, his timely counterattack bought Dimitri precious time to manoeuvre troops to reinforce his threatened left flank.

By that time the Russian line had pivoted so that it was no longer on an east-west axis. Although its right flank had remained intact, its centre and left had been refused to the point that it was by then on a southwest to northeast axis.

MONGOLS COMMIT THEIR RESERVE

The Mongols had a clear advantage after nearly two hours of fighting; however, the Russians had fought like demons. Mamai had been forced to commit all of his troops, except for his reserve, in order to prevent the Russians from gaining the upper hand. The overwhelming superiority of the Mongol horse archers on the east side of the field vanquished the Russian left-hand regiment and opened up a path to the Russian rear. At that point, Mamai ordered the horse archers in his reserve to cut off the Russians from Tatinki Ford and attack them from behind.

The Mongol reserve reached the rear of the Russian army largely unopposed. When the Mongol horse archers behind the Russian army had fully committed to their attack, Bobrok-Volinsky gave the signal for Andreyevich to attack. Heavily armoured Russian horsemen emerged from the edge of the oak forest and charged the Mongols.

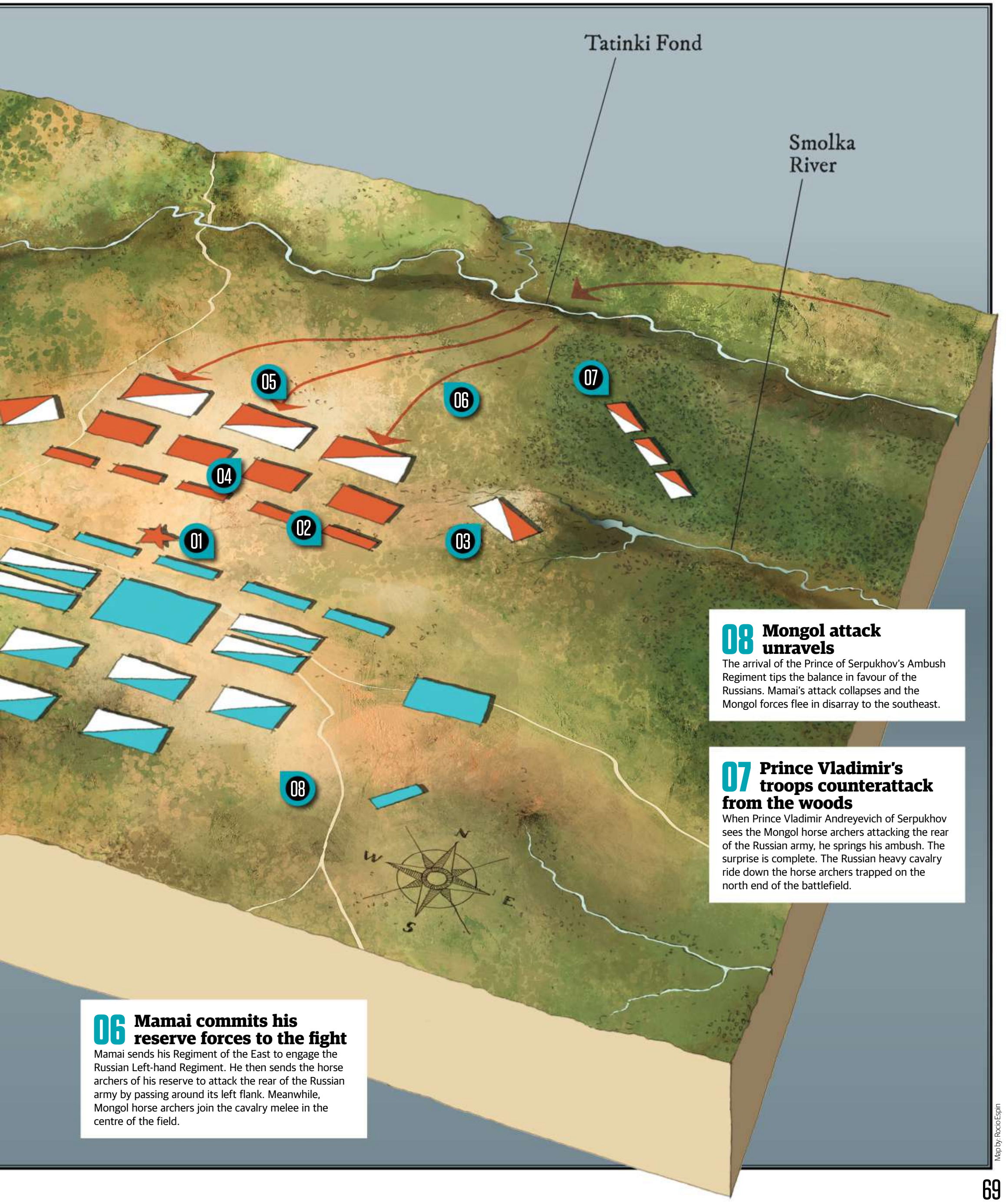
The timing of the counterattack was perfect. The Mongol army began to crumble under the weight of the fresh Russian attack. The surviving Mongol horsemen rode past Mamai's command post without stopping. Mamai and his staff mounted their horses and joined the flight to the east.

At the cost of one-third of his forces, Dimitri had destroyed Mamai's army. Only about 5,000 Mongols escaped the slaughter. Mamai fled to the Crimean port of Kaffa where he was assassinated, presumably by agents of Tokhtamysh.

Russian commander Dimitri Ivanovich is shown wearing a conical Circassian helmet with a mail coif similar to those worn by all high-born Russian warriors

Image source: Wiki/Ghirlandajo

Nepriadva River
01 Mongol scouts disperse Russian mounted skirmishers
Mongol scouts scatter the Russian mounted skirmishers in front of the Russian main body. The Russian light horsemen peel off to join the wing regiments.
02 Mongol lancers force Russian infantry to fall back
The Mongol front line advances to attack the infantry of the Russian advance guard. The lance-wielding Mongol heavy cavalry on both flanks repeatedly charges the Russian foot soldiers, forcing them to give ground.
03 Mongols try to turn Russian left flank
Emir Mamai sends a large body of horse archers into action against the Russian left flank. The Russian left-hand regiment advances to threaten the Mongol horse archers, but does not commit itself to a counterattack for fear of exposing the entire left flank of the Russian army.
04 Mongol lancers kill boyar posing as Dimitri
Mongol horsemen swinging maces and shooting bows seek out and kill Mikhail Brenok, who they believe is Dimitri Ivanovich of Moscow because he is wearing the grand prince's ornate armour and fighting under his banner.
2km
05 Russian spearmen reform behind their cavalry
The attack of the Mongol cavalry has disrupted the Russian foot so badly that it must retreat. Dimitri and his captains prevent the surviving foot soldiers from panicking by ordering them to regroup behind the cavalry. The Russian armoured cavalry then engages the Mongol lancers.
Battle of Kulikovo (1380)
Russian army
Mongol army



08 Mongol attack unravels

The arrival of the Prince of Serpukhov's Ambush Regiment tips the balance in favour of the Russians. Mamai's attack collapses and the Mongol forces flee in disarray to the southeast.

07 Prince Vladimir's troops counterattack from the woods

When Prince Vladimir Andreyevich of Serpukhov sees the Mongol horse archers attacking the rear of the Russian army, he springs his ambush. The surprise is complete. The Russian heavy cavalry ride down the horse archers trapped on the north end of the battlefield.

06 Mamai commits his reserve forces to the fight

Mamai sends his Regiment of the East to engage the Russian Left-hand Regiment. He then sends the horse archers of his reserve to attack the rear of the Russian army by passing around its left flank. Meanwhile, Mongol horse archers join the cavalry melee in the centre of the field.

Map by: Rocio Espin

What If...

TOKUGAWA HAD FAILED TO UNITE JAPAN?

The shogun's price for peace and stability was military rule and global isolation. Would Japan be stronger, or fracture once again?

Interview by David J Williamson

INTERVIEW WITH

DANNY CHAPLIN

Danny is a Singapore-based author and former travel magazine journalist. He is the author of five historical books, including *Sengoku Jidai – Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu: Three Unifiers of Japan* (2018).

Photo courtesy of Danny Chaplin

With the victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, years of internal strife and conflict ended, and the Edo (modern-day Tokyo) period began. Japan was once again unified. For more than two centuries the iron fist of strict military and feudal rule of the shogunate that touched every aspect of people's lives, plus almost total isolation from the rest of the world, ensured the survival of the Tokugawa regime. Japan had time to heal the wounds it had inflicted upon itself. A form of tranquillity had descended upon the country. But all the while the world was changing, and what would happen if Japan did not change with it?

What would a fractured Japan have looked like socially and politically?

Had the Tokugawa not triumphed, Japan would have remained disunited, at least until one or the other bloc was able to gain the upper hand. The various provincial daimyos would have retained their armies along with a certain amount of political agency. At the very least they would not have been hamstrung by the sankin kotai system ushered in by the Tokugawa that was designed to deplete their financial resources.

Unlike in 13th century England, the daimyos would not have been checked by the centralised power of the monarchy, as the English barons were checked by King John. By this time, the Chrysanthemum Throne was a spent force politically (it had been for some time) and the emperor himself would not enjoy a political resurgence until the 19th century. This would have kept the political dynamics of Japan fairly fluid as the daimyos continued to compete with each other, primarily for the rulership of prime land. Japan's relatively few low-lying coastal plains suitable for the growing of rice meant that good agricultural land would always be contested by the strong, especially as the population expanded.

Had neither side prevailed, Japan may have ended up in a situation similar to Renaissance Italy – a patchwork of provincial states coexisting in an often-uneasy peace, frequently in a state of war, with no centralised royal power to give political cohesion to the land. As in Italy, this state of affairs would have stunted Japan's wider development and prevented the introduction of nationwide reforms paving the way for modernisation.

What were the main social and political weaknesses that continued to threaten a stable, unified Japan?

Ieyasu was an astute statesman who foresaw many of the potential pitfalls of his shogunate, learning from historical events. By 1614, he'd established an incorruptible mechanism to ensure the intergenerational survival of the Tokugawa as shoguns. The country Ieyasu inherited was a diverse conglomeration of fiercely independent fiefs, many of which were distant from the power centre. The Tokugawa practised a consistent policy which was known as daimyo no toritsubushi ('the crushing of the daimyos'), which sought to systematically penalise and constrict the daimyos through land confiscation (since land equated with rice cultivation).

Under the initial Tokugawa shogunate of Ieyasu and his son Hidetada, the other

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Main image source: © Alamy, © Getty Images

RIGHT
Japan had been fractured by constant civil war

TAIL-ED!

THE PAST

PRE-1600

COMPLETING THE JIGSAW

The unification of Japan was, in effect, the result of the efforts of three individuals. Oda Nobunaga had overseen the basis of a centralised government, while Toyotomi Hideyoshi created the social structure comprising of a strict class hierarchy. Daimyo were at the top, below them were the samurai warrior class, and below them the tradesmen, craftsmen and farmers. The shogun was the leader of the military government across the newly unified country, even more important than the emperor, with Tokugawa Ieyasu the first of the Edo period in 1603.

1603 – 1850s

A HERMIT KINGDOM

Sakoku (translating as 'chained country') was the shogunate policy of severe restrictions on access to the country by foreigners, as well as closely restricted access to trade by foreign powers. Virtually all foreigners were banned from entering the country and most ordinary Japanese citizens were barred from travelling abroad. This did not in reality damage the Japanese economy, which was strong during the period. There were also the foundations in which towns and cities became more of a focus for a migrating population, and the building blocks of a more urbanised society were being put in place.

1853

DRAGGED INTO THE MODERN WORLD

By the 1850s there was already an undercurrent of dissatisfaction against the Tokugawa Shogunate, with support for the imperial family and a desire to be part of the developing world. This came to a head in 1853 with the expedition of Commodore Matthew Perry. He aimed to open Japanese ports to American trade; diplomatically, if possible, but with the threat of force if necessary. Gunboat diplomacy won the day and by 1868 the Tokugawa Shogunate was no more. Japan embraced imperial government and its rise as an industrial powerhouse began.

obstacles facing peaceful rule were chiefly systemic. Post-Sekigahara, the shogunate made no attempt to impose a national bureaucracy on the outlying provinces. Each daimyo was responsible for administering his own province as he saw fit, with the shogunate intervening only where questions of loyalty arose. Ieyasu's own ruling style remained parochial, and this was by no means suited to a wider, nationwide polity. He tended to rule autocratically and trusted allies like Hosokawa Fujitaka to carry out his orders.

The post-Sekigahara dispensation was a situation of winners and losers. The hereditary Tokugawa allies (fudai) and to a lesser extent the outsider daimyos (tozama) wanted to fix their social positions in place, or at least prevent any slippage. Social fluidity was regarded as the great enemy to social and political stability. Ieyasu addressed this early through his policy of fixing the different social classes in place, making social permeability more or less impossible.

What could've been a weakness in the hereditary basis of the shogunate was addressed by Ieyasu through the Tokugawa Gosanke, or 'The Three Houses of the Tokugawa'. If the hereditary line of his eldest son Hidetada were to fail, a shogun could still be drawn from the family lines of three other sons.

Was there an over-reliance on strong individuals, and did that make the shogunate vulnerable?

Japanese society in general and the Tokugawa shogunate in particular were strongly hierarchical in nature. It was necessary that at the apex of this system there would be a strong individual invested with total political and military power – namely the shogun himself. As time wore on, the later Tokugawa shoguns would become ineffectual, and this would lead to the fall of the shogunate and re-establishment of the imperial family as the true power centre by the 19th century.

Feudal Japan was an obligation-based society in which personal duties and commitments were all-important. Duties towards a faceless bureaucracy (as in imperial China) could not have held the same degree of obligation as they did towards the shogun himself, or his subordinate daimyos. This is why Ieyasu stepped down early as shogun to make way for his son Hidetada. He knew that Hidetada would need time for his word to gain authority and it was better that this be achieved with Ieyasu in the background as a stabilising influence.

What impact did Japan's isolation during the Edo period have on the broader region regarding politics and trade? More stable, or less?

Out of all the Western nationalities, only the Dutch were officially permitted to conduct trade with Japan, and they were confined to the tiny island enclave of Dejima and were prohibited from entering Nagasaki itself. Nonetheless, the Dutch endured these harsh

BELOW-INSET
Tokugawa Ieyasu used strict military rule to unite Japan's warring factions

BELOW
Edo (modern Tokyo) was the centre of the shogun's power

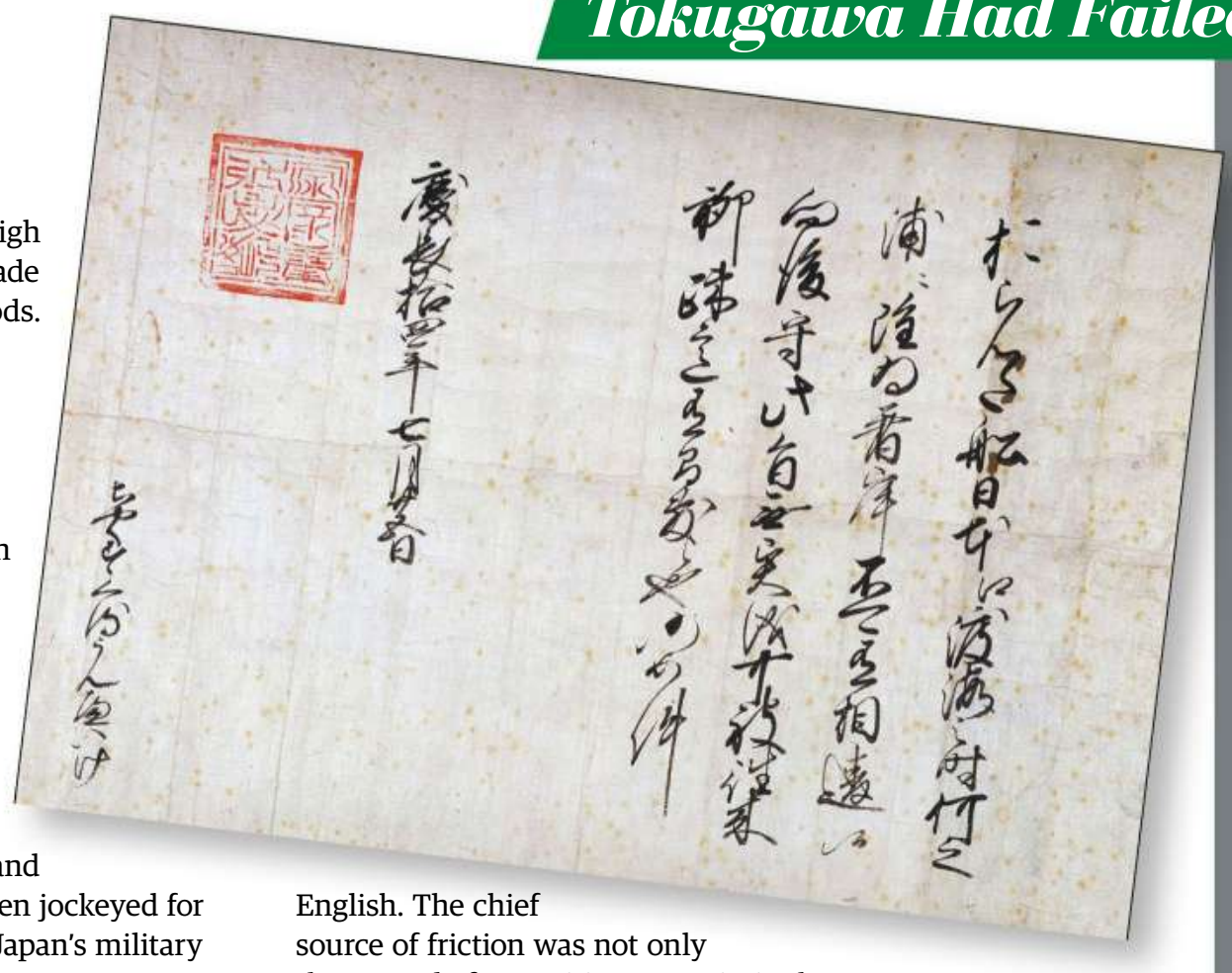
conditions due to the high profits that could be made trading in Japanese goods.

By the time of the Tokugawa shogunate the Western powers had already established footholds in the Philippines (the Spanish from 1565), Macau (the Portuguese from 1554), and the Indonesian islands (the Dutch from 1602). These footholds were driven by a mixture of trade and military conquest and the Western powers often jockeyed for position in the eyes of Japan's military lords. Indeed, the Westerners were not above embroiling themselves in Japanese politics. When the Jesuit vice-provincial Father Gaspar Coelho was told Hideyoshi would invade Korea and was asked to procure two Portuguese men-o-war for the Japanese fleet, he obliged.

But if the Westerners were thought of at all it was as potential rivals and conquerors rather than as allies. In 1596, Hideyoshi had been convinced by the captain of a shipwrecked Spanish galleon that Franciscan missionaries were the harbingers of a Spanish invasion. Fearing the worst, Hideyoshi retaliated by crucifying 26 Franciscan monks.

Later, in the early 1600s, Spain asked Ieyasu if they could conduct a survey of Japan. Ieyasu consulted William Adams, the English pilot who had been marooned in Japan, who told him that this was an unequivocally hostile act of espionage. Ieyasu was unperturbed, assuring Adams that the shogunate could counter any foreign invasion. It was unlikely that the Spanish could have conquered an organised and warlike country like Japan as easily as they had conquered the Philippines or the Americas. Nonetheless, Portugal twice attempted to defy the official policy of isolationism, once in 1640 and again in 1647 when Portuguese galleons tried to forcibly enter Nagasaki.

Could competition for Japan's trade by Western powers have spilled over into conflict in Europe? Who would have been involved and how would they have exploited a divided Japan?
The spice trade and land grabs in the Indies had already spilled over into the European theatre. This was expressed first as conflicts between Portugal and Spain then later as wars between Spain and the Dutch, and the Dutch and the English. The chief source of friction was not only the struggle for maritime superiority but access to the spice trade of the Moluccas. Spices such as cinnamon, ginger and turmeric were so profitable that one shipload could make the fortunes of several generations of one family.



ABOVE
A Dutch trading pass issued by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1609

Japan, of course, did not offer these lucrative spice products, which is perhaps as well since it could have presaged a far more aggressive foreign interest in Japan than turned out to be the case.

Piracy between the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch – often with the Dutch preying upon the richly laden ships – was rife. Given the existing level of animosity between the various foreign powers it is doubtful whether competition over the Japan trade could have resulted in worse European repercussions than already existed. But had Japan been divided and open to European incursion things may well have been different.

Were the Tokugawa so polarised from a modernising and developing world that opening trade through force by Western powers was inevitable?
History has shown no country can remain isolated forever. If they do not open of their own volition they will inevitably be opened by force, as happened in Japan's case. The speed with which Japan subsequently modernised, its railroading of the country in the late 19th century and its building of a modern navy in the early 20th century, also showed that there was a hunger for modernisation and technological advancement. Could the Tokugawa have resisted the US Navy? Had the shogunate not been internally weakened by the imperial movement it is possible, but still perhaps doubtful. Even a unified Japan would not have been able to resist the technological might of a modern Western naval fleet.

THE POSSIBILITY

1603 ONWARDS

CONSTANT WAR

A disunited Japan would almost certainly not have experienced peace for 265 years. With no centralised authority the country would have been ruled by a couple of hundred daimyos all vying for land and power, so the country may well have been in state of chaos right up until the 19th century. (Italy, for example, was only unified in the late 19th century.) This would, in turn, have left it vulnerable to the ambitions and influences from not only its closest neighbours, but also the expanding reach of European and, eventually, American power.

1603 ONWARDS

EUROPE'S PUPPET

It is almost certain that the Western powers would have established themselves much more firmly in the country, perhaps to the extent of coming to dominate Japan. As we have noted, many daimyos enthusiastically courted these foreign influences; not only did the Westerners bring new technologies, including military expertise, they also showed themselves willing to ally with one daimyo against another in the ongoing power struggles of the era. Once the Western colonialists entrenched themselves in a country it was difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge them.

1941

HALF A WORLD WAR

With a much earlier and substantial impact by foreign influence it may be that Japan would still have made the same rapid industrial progress, but perhaps under a more watchful eye and supervision of the West. The combination of warrior-like discipline, ingenuity and self-belief may well have been harnessed by other powers to their own advantage, especially trade. The result of such collaboration with the West may well have steered Japan away from its ambitions as a military power, the result being no Pearl Harbor, no war in the Pacific, no war in Burma, and no destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

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Through History

DOCUMENTING THE GLAMOROUS ROYALS

A new book explores the history of the British royal family through their photographic appearances in *Vogue*

Founded in 1892 in the USA, *Vogue* magazine is one of the most prestigious fashion institutions in the world. Throughout the publication's illustrious history, it has had a close relationship with the British royal family. Chronicling the lives of the royals for over a century, past issues of *Vogue* house a unique collection of photographs that mark royal milestones. These photographs have been brought together in a new book by Robin Muir, the contributing editor at British *Vogue*, and Josephine Ross.

In what has been a momentous year for the British royal family, *The Crown In Vogue* presents a variety of stunning photographs, dating back to the reign of King George V right through to the present day. Unsurprisingly, it is images of the late Queen Elizabeth II, who became monarch in 1952, that dominate the pages of this book. Originally published this year to coincide with the queen's Platinum Jubilee (which marked her 70 years on the throne), no one could have foreseen that it would also be published in the year of her death. This timely book is the perfect tribute to the queen's life and truly lends itself to her famous quote: "I must be seen to be believed."

THE ANOINTED QUEEN

This official photograph was taken by Cecil Beaton at Queen Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953. She is pictured wearing the robes of state and the English crown. At the time of her coronation, the queen was just 26 years old.

© Cecil Beaton

A MOTHER AND SON

Showing the more personal side of the royal family, this photograph features Princess Elizabeth, before she became queen, with her eldest child Prince Charles. Taken in 1950 by Beaton, the two subjects were both destined to become British monarchs.

© Cecil Beaton

PRINCESSES OF PEACE

In the aftermath of WWII, the royal family were still subject to rationing just like everyone else in Britain. This 1946 shot by legendary photographer Beaton shows Princess Elizabeth (right), alongside her sister Princess Margaret, wearing a hand-me-down dress from her mother.

© Cecil Beaton

All images courtesy of: *The Crown in Vogue* by Robin Muir and Josephine Ross, published by Conran Octopus

PRINCESS MARGARET

Princess Margaret fashioned herself as a more modern royal and distanced herself from the more archaic aspects of the British monarchy. This photograph epitomises her sense of style and was taken by Beaton to mark an official visit to the US.

© Cecil Beaton

A KING IN THE MAKING

Taken in 2002 by photographer Mario Testino, this image of the Prince of Wales (now King Charles III) was taken in the grounds of his treasured home, Highgrove House in Gloucestershire. He bought the country house in 1980.

© Mario Testino

THE QUEEN CONSORT

Taken inside Clarence House, the previous London residence of Charles III and his wife, this image of Camilla, the Queen Consort (at the time the Duchess of Cornwall) shows her sporting a glamorous blue Robinson Valentine ensemble.

© Mario Testino

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

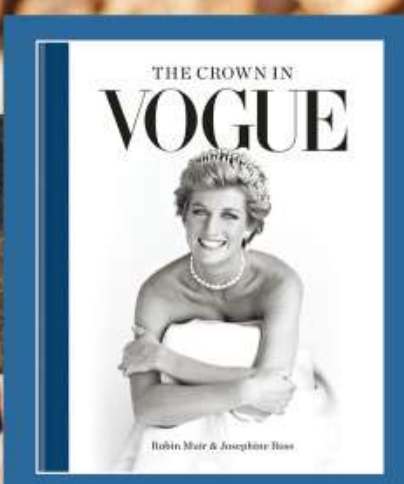
Princesses Beatrice and Eugenie are the stars of this photograph by Sean Thomas. The granddaughters of Queen Elizabeth support many charitable causes and lead a more low-profile life than the senior members of the family.

© Sean Thomas

A FUTURE QUEEN

Starring in a photoshoot for the centenary cover of British *Vogue* in 2016, the Duchess of Cambridge (now the Princess of Wales) commissioned young British photographer Josh Olins to take the shots. This image showcases the future of the British crown.

© Josh Olins



The Crown in Vogue

by Robin Muir and Josephine Ross (published by Conran Octopus) is out now

All images courtesy of: *The Crown in Vogue* by Robin Muir and Josephine Ross, published by Conran Octopus

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

© Alamy

THE LOST KING

A quintessentially British drama-comedy about the search for Richard III

Certificate: 12A **Director:** Stephen Frears **Cast:** Sally Hawkins, Steve Coogan, Harry Lloyd **Released:** Out now

In 2012, the discovery of King Richard III's remains under a car park in Leicester garnered international media attention. The world finally had an answer as to what happened to the king who was killed at the Battle of Bosworth Field by Lancastrian forces led by Henry Tudor in 1485. Behind this discovery was an unlikely detective: an amateur historian and member of the Richard III Society, Philippa Langley. *The Lost King* follows Langley's journey to making her remarkable discovery.

With a screenplay written by Steve Coogan and Jeff Pope, the same writers as 2013's Oscar-nominated *Philomena*, *The Lost King* introduces us to Langley (Sally Hawkins), a woman struggling with ME, feeling sidelined and misunderstood in her job, and trying to co-parent her two children with her husband John (Coogan) from whom she has separated. Langley takes her son to see a production of William Shakespeare's *Richard III*, and it is here that her fascination with Richard begins as she believes him to have been misunderstood and villainised by history.

Langley quits her job and dedicates her time to reading and learning about Richard. She attends Richard III Society meetings and asks where she can go to pay her respects to the king who has captured her imagination. After discovering that no one knows for certain what happened to Richard's body after his death, she decides that she is the person who will be able to find him.

Here is where the plot runs into some difficulties. It has been reported that discontented academics from the University of Leicester are claiming that their involvement in the search for the king has been underplayed in the film. With legal action being threatened by Richard Taylor, the university's former deputy registrar who is portrayed by actor Lee Ingleby as obstructive and dismissive, it is hard to say how accurately *The Lost King* tells the story of what really happened during the search. However, the filmmakers told BBC Culture: "The university's version of events has been extensively documented over the past 10 years. Philippa's recollection of events, as corroborated by the filmmakers' research, is very different."

Despite this, *The Lost King* is charming in its quirky format. One of the stand-out features of the film is the vision of Richard III (Harry Lloyd) who accompanies Langley throughout the search, acting as a largely silent sounding board for her thought processes and as a companion during the more difficult moments. Richard's apparition creates some welcome moments of comedy and their interactions allow Hawkins to shine in her brilliant portrayal of Langley. Similarly, Coogan's comic timing as Langley's estranged husband lifts the sometimes slow plot. However, Richard's story and the attempt to rehabilitate his reputation seems to get lost in Langley's own story, and the real-life conflict with those in the film who are shown taking the credit for Langley's work has overshadowed the film's intentions. Despite this *The Lost King*, while it never quite reaches its potential, is an entertaining watch. ***ES***

★★★☆☆

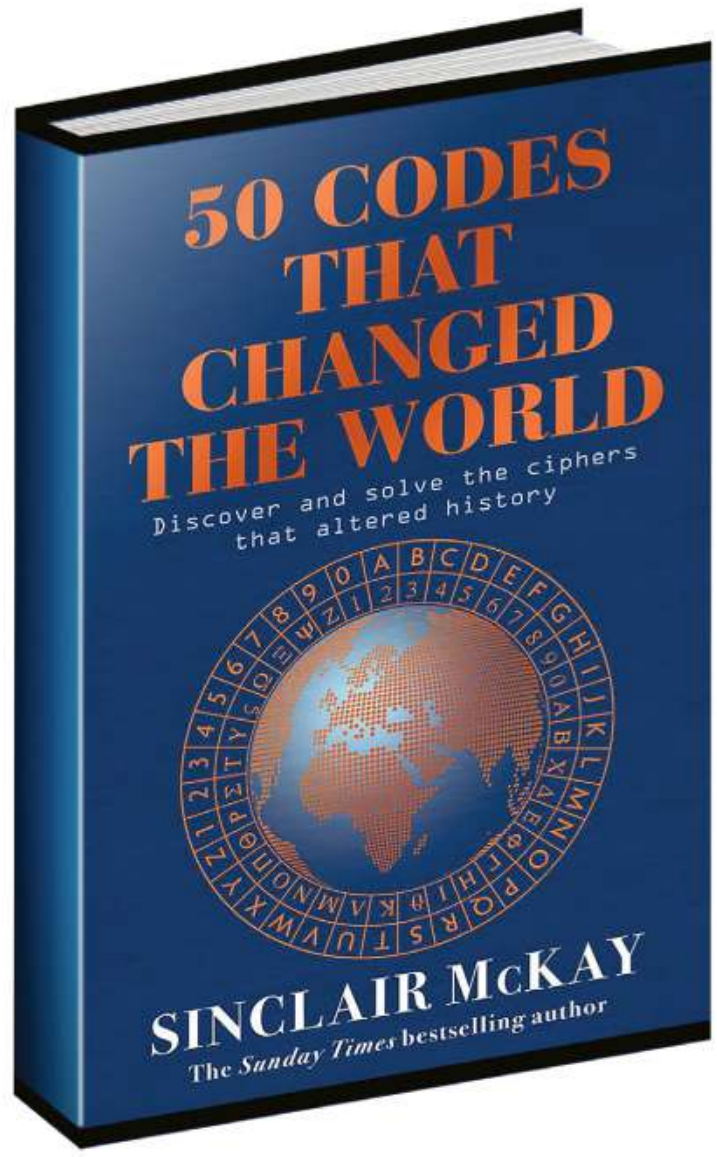
Book Film TV Podcast Game Other

Reviews by
Emily Staniforth, Jackson van Uden, Catherine Curzon, Jonathan Gordon

50 CODES THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

An engaging history of code making and breaking

Author: Sinclair McKay **Publisher:** Headline **Price:** £18.99 **Released:** Out now

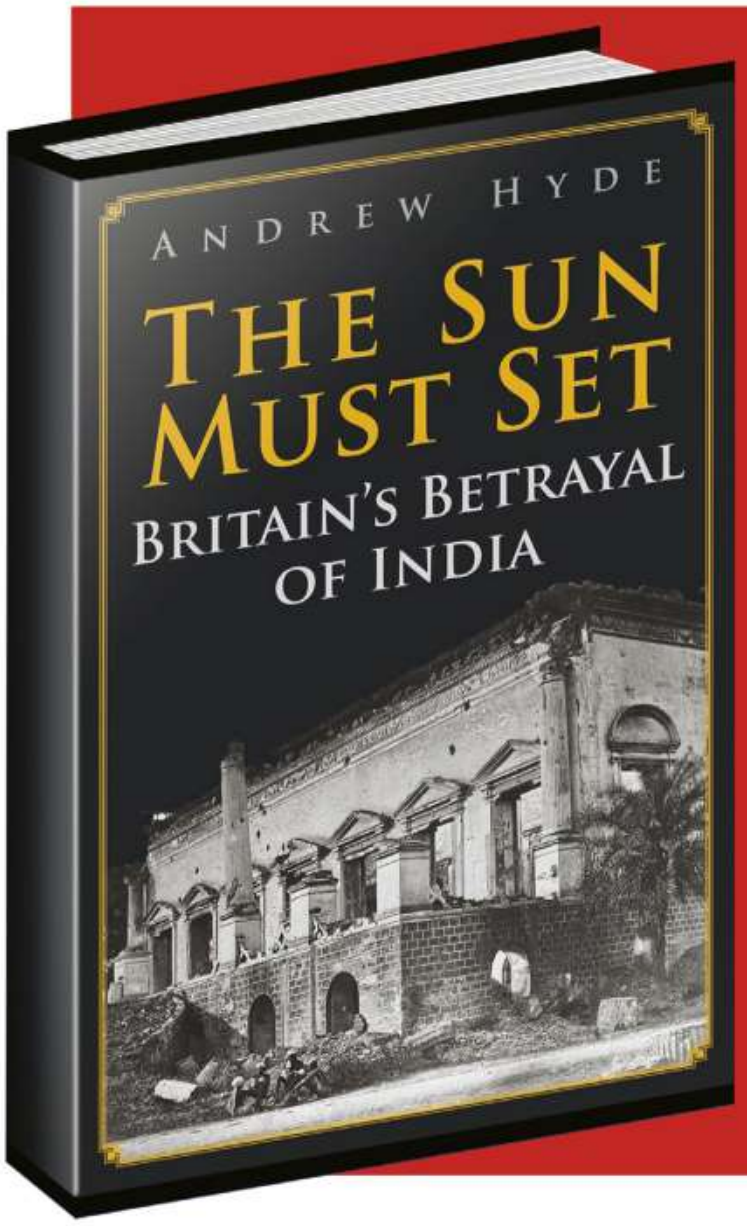

50 CODES THAT CHANGED THE WORLD
Discover and solve the ciphers that altered history
SINCLAIR McKAY
The Sunday Times bestselling author

Codes are something we see and hear in our everyday lives, they are hidden in the ways we communicate, they're found in our environments, and they form the backbone of modern technology. Author Sinclair McKay brings to his readers a fun, insightful, easy-to-read book that really makes the history of codes and cryptology accessible for all, and by drawing links between the codes and popular culture he makes it easier for us to understand how the people creating and deciphering these codes operated.

McKay covers an enormous amount of ground in his book, a testament to the wide amount of research he has done. He details codes that ancient civilisations such as the Mayans and Minoans crafted, right up to the encryption-breaking technologies used today by organisations such as GCHQ. However, within his book McKay doesn't only detail these world-changing codes; he gives his readers a chance to channel their inner Alan Turing and learn how to read and break these codes themselves.

Having tried to decipher a number of these codes ourselves, we felt a huge sense of achievement after we had been able to break a couple of them. When unable to crack a code it's hard not to appreciate the genius of code-breaking individuals, such as Alfred Dillwyn 'Dilly' Knox, that Mckay introduces us to during the course of his book. While we are no code-breaking experts, *50 Codes That Changed The World* is the ideal starting place for any budding cryptologist. ***JvU***

★★★★☆



THE SUN MUST SET: BRITAIN'S BETRAYAL OF INDIA

An unflinching examination of the British in India

Author: Andrew Hyde **Publisher:** Amberley Publishing
Price: £25 **Released:** Out now

In *The Sun Must Set: Britain's Betrayal of India*, author Andrew Hyde sets out to interrogate and ultimately dismantle the long-argued myth that British rule was scarcely anything but advantageous to India and its people. Instead, he demonstrates that over centuries of British rule the Indian subcontinent suffered not only economically, but ecologically, socially and industrially too.

This densely detailed book takes the reader back to the very birth of India. From its early beginnings and the growth of civilisation in the Indus Valley, Hyde journeys all the way to the modern era. This journey takes the reader through a changing landscape and through centuries of history, introducing us to a cast of characters who are by turns pioneering, inspiring and controversial.

The Sun Must Set exams how Britain first began to drain wealth from India via the East India Company and later via the Crown itself. As Indians found themselves blocked from positions in their own land and poverty grew ever more ruinous, Britain's dominance across India continued with little censure.

Heavily researched and with plentiful notes and appendices, as well as an exhaustive bibliography, Hyde has produced a fascinating work that attempts to analyse, critique and understand a tangled and complicated legacy. ***CC***

★★★★★

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HISTORY of WAR RECOMMENDS...

Out now!

The Battle of Britain: A Visual History

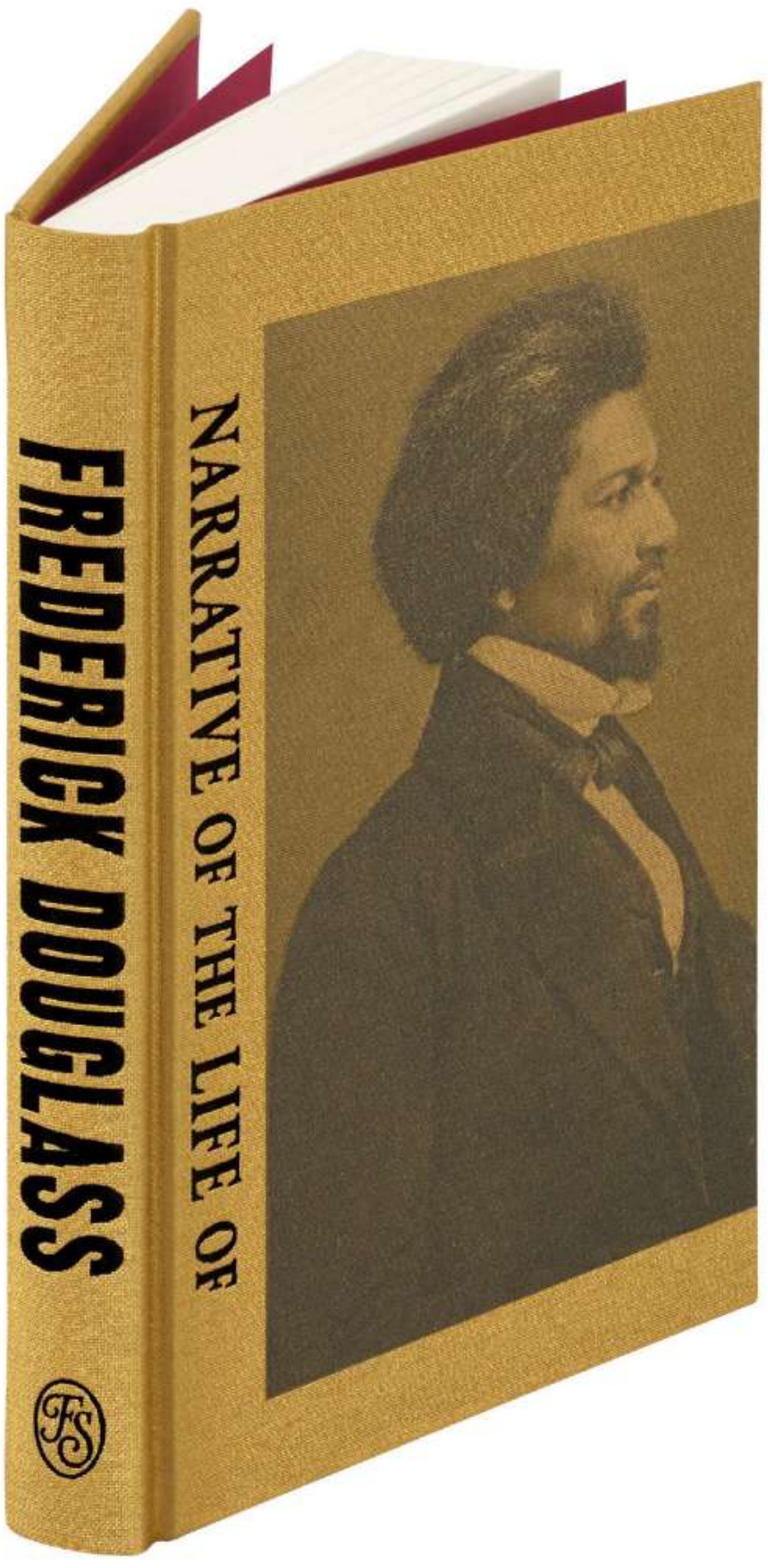
Author Anthony Richards **Price** £25 **Publisher** IWM

As the title suggests, this is a pictorial presentation of the battle, and with an image selection that's second to none. While a good many of the pictures will be familiar, their large-format presentation and captioning is superb. Anthony Richards has shown there are still nuggets to be found in the archives and collections of the Imperial War Museums.

NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS

An autobiography that has lost none of its potency with time

Author: Frederick Douglass **Publisher:** Folio Society **Price:** £44.95 **Released:** Out now



Of the many abolitionist figures we've featured in this magazine over the years, Frederick Douglass is likely the most familiar. His story intersects with so many others of his age with similar backgrounds, and his ascension as a statesman and activist is far greater than most. His rise in prominence dates back to this book to a great extent, and this excellent new Folio Society edition is a worthy treatment for such a historically significant text.

Prior to the release of this book, Douglass was already garnering a reputation as a fine orator and powerful advocate for abolition. Speaking from his personal experiences as a formerly enslaved person, who had only recently escaped and found his freedom, he could embody the experience of slavery far better than the preachers and politicians who had been challenging the institution.

Originally published in 1845, 18 years before the Emancipation Proclamation, Douglass' *Narrative* was and remains a powerful text since it not only gives grisly examples of the cruelty he experienced and witnessed, he also names names, gives dates and places when they occurred. This was significant because Douglass was still a fugitive at the time and such details could identify him to his former masters. This autobiography, then, is also his testimony in the public trial of slavery being sought by abolitionists at this time. It's notable that he left for Great Britain not long after his book was published, building international relationships for the abolitionist movement but also steering clear of any potential fallout from the book's public reception.

> "Douglass gives grisly examples of the cruelty he experienced"

This Folio edition comes with an excellent introduction by Ghanaian poet Kwame Dawes, who examines Douglass' writing, the motivations of the book's publishers, and Douglass' own amendments and edits to the text over time. Dawes helps set the stage in a welcome way, especially if you're not familiar with the finer details of this period in US history. This is followed by the original introduction by William Lloyd Garrison and a letter from Wendell Phillips, Douglass' patrons for the publication of the book. These offer contemporary context and commentary on the text, giving you a sense of what they hoped the *Narrative* would achieve for readers of the time.

Added to the book is the text of Douglass' speech *What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?* from 1852, which in a much more direct manner challenged America's self-identity as the land of the free and picked at the hypocrisy of a nation that preached liberty and justice but still enslaved people. As Dawes highlights in his introduction, the contrast in the language between the *Narrative* and speech is striking, displaying Douglass' versatility as a writer, speaker and, perhaps, how his own views had evolved in the intervening seven years. The collected package, which includes striking photographic portraits of Douglass, is another fantastic release from the Folio Society. ***JG***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

CAN YOU EVER FORGIVE ME?

Director: Marielle Heller **Starring:** Melissa McCarthy, Richard E Grant **Country:** USA **Year:** 2018

Author Lee Israel forged letters of famous historical figures, but how phoney is this film's portrayal of her escapades?

VERDICT: A mostly accurate account with a few fictional flourishes

01 The film tells the true story of Lee Israel (McCarthy), who either stole or forged some 400 letters of historical figures. It depicts her as only actively stealing one letter from an archive and replacing it with a forgery, but in reality she may have done this dozens of times.

02 Israel's friend and eventual partner in crime in the film is Jack Hock (Grant). However, this charismatic figure is only briefly mentioned by Israel in her autobiography and much of their friendship in the movie is actually fictional.

03 The film highlights the lengths Israel went to when creating her forgeries, including a sequence where she traces over Noël Coward's signature in order to create authenticity. Much of this detail is correct, including the purchasing of various typewriters.

04 In the film Israel has the opportunity for a potential relationship with a bookseller called Anna (Dolly Wells). In reality no such person existed but it's a useful tool for the filmmakers to demonstrate how Israel struggled in developing personal relationships.

05 At the end of the film, Hock betrays Israel. In real life David Lowenherz, a New York autograph dealer, wore a wire during a meeting with Hock. Afterwards FBI agents followed him to where he met Israel to exchange money. Both were arrested.

All images: © Alamy

Did you know?

An English custard tart was served at the 80th birthday celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II

Ingredients

Pastry

- 150g unsalted butter
- 230g plain flour
- 80g caster sugar
- 2 eggs
- 1 lemon (zested)
- A pinch of salt

Filling

- 8 egg yolks
- 250ml double cream
- 250ml whole milk
- 75g caster sugar
- 1 tsp vanilla essence
- Nutmeg

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: © Getty Images

MEDIEVAL CUSTARD TART

A SWEET AND CREAMY DESSERT, ENGLAND, C.1300 – PRESENT

There are several variations of the custard tart that can be found throughout history. In Portugal, pastel de nata (individual custard tarts) were invented by the monks from Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon during the 13th century. The version here, however, was first made in medieval England, when custard tarts were known as darioles or doucets. Recipes similar to this one have been recorded from the 14th century onwards, and often include adding saffron to the custard to give it a richer yellow colour. Custard tarts were a favourite of royalty and were served at the coronation banquet of King Henry IV in 1399.

METHOD

01 Preheat the oven to 180°C.
02 Add the butter, flour, lemon zest and salt to a large bowl and using your hands rub the mixture until it forms a breadcrumb-like consistency.
03 Carefully separate one of the eggs and add the yolk to the bowl.
04 Add the other egg and sugar to the bowl and mix together until a dough forms.
05 Form the dough into a ball, wrap in clingfilm and refrigerate for at least two hours.
06 After two hours, remove the dough from the fridge and roll out on a floured surface.
07 Line a tart tin with greaseproof paper and then line the tin with the pastry.
08 Fill the pastry case with baking beans and put in the oven to blind bake for 15 minutes until it turns golden brown.
09 Remove the case from the oven, remove the baking beans and allow pastry to cool.
10 Turn the oven down to 140°C.
11 Add the cream, milk and vanilla essence to a pan and bring to the boil.
12 Add the egg yolks and sugar to a bowl and whisk them together.
13 Add the double cream and milk mixture to the bowl and whisk everything together to make the custard.
14 Sieve the custard into a jug.
15 Pour the custard into the pastry until it reaches the brim and grate nutmeg over the top. Put the tart back into the oven.
16 Bake for 40 minutes until it sets and the custard has a slight wobble.
17 Allow the tart to cool before serving.

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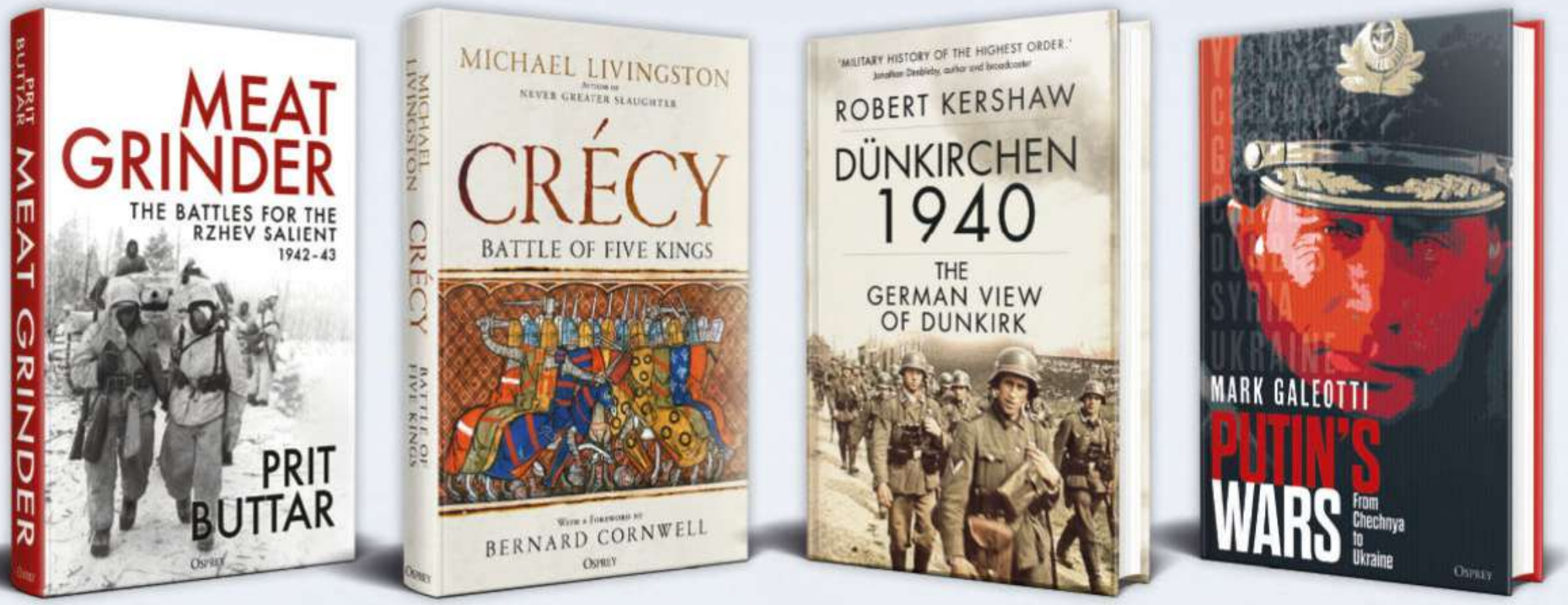

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